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ABSTRACT

This compendium contains 15 reports in a review of the research literature supporting law-related education (LRE) in the schools. Historical research and current findings are presented. The first part of this compendium is organized into three sections. Section 1 focuses on the research that has provided the foundation for the vision of LRE practiced by the National Training and Dissemination Program/Youth for Justice, including both the impact study conducted in the early 1980s and an ethnographic study of institutionalization of LRE conducted later in the decade. Section 2 looks at other research on school-based law-related/civic education. The final section presents 12 articles on research in other areas of education--social studies generally, for example--that support the project vision of LRE. (WG)

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Compendium of Research Supporting Law-Related Education

Part I

Law-Related Education as Practiced by the National Training and Dissemination Program/Youth for Justice

Prepared by the Social Science Education Consortium
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Part I:
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INTRODUCTION

Background on the National Training and Dissemination Project/Youth for Justice

In 1978, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) awarded grants to five national LRE organizations to develop and disseminate law-related education curricula and programs for public and private schools. These organizations, collectively called the LRE National Training and Dissemination Program (NTDP), are:

- American Bar Association, Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship (ABA/YEFC)
- Center for Civic Education
- Constitutional Rights Foundation
- Street Law, Inc.
- Phi Alpha Delta Public Service Center

From 1981 to 1983, the programs and curricula of these organizations were evaluated to determine their effectiveness in reducing delinquent behavior. The evaluators, the Center for Action Research and the Social Science Education Consortium, found that, when properly implemented, LRE programs can not only increase knowledge about law and the legal system but also improve attitudes toward authority and reduce delinquent behavior.

For the remainder of the 1980s, OJJDP supported widespread dissemination of these delinquency prevention programs to schools at the elementary and secondary levels throughout the country. In the 1990s, dissemination of LRE programs in school settings has continued, but the collaborative project has focused more attention on a variety of special initiatives, including the LRE in Juvenile Justice Settings Initiative, a drug education initiative, an urban initiative, and an initiative specifically aimed at youth violence. To reflect the new focus of the program, the cooperative project was renamed Youth for Justice in 1994.

Purposes and Organization of This Compendium

Since 1984, the Social Science Education Consortium has served as the evaluation contractor for the NTDP/YFJ. One of SSEC's functions has been to collect and disseminate research information relevant to or about law-related education to the five cooperating organizations and the state LRE coordinators with whom they worked to disseminate LRE programs nationally. This compendium is a logical extension of that function, presenting a collection of research reviews that will be particularly useful to LRE practitioners as they design and implement LRE programs.

The compendium is being produced in two parts. This first part presents research that supports the vision of school-based law-related educaction that has been the hallmark of the NTDP/YFJ project. The second part of the compendium will include research related to the special initiatives undertaken by YFJ in research years—LRE in non-school settings, LRE and at-risk youth, and LRE and prevention of violence and drug abuse.

In preparation to produce this volume, SSEC staff conducted numerous searches of the education literature, including searches of ERIC, Dissertation Abstracts, and other relevant data bases. Nominations for inclusion were solicited from the five participating projects and all LRE state coordinators.

Dozens, if not hundreds, of articles might have been selected for inclusion in this volume. Due to both budgetary constraints and practical considerations of utility, we adopted a philosophy of "less is more": that is, we decided to think of the collection as a set of starting points for locating relevant research. Thus, articles that reviewed and synthesized large bodies of research were sought rather than reports of specific pieces of research. Articles selected include both reviews of research and what might most accurately be called "think pieces." Materials were selected on the basis of the following criteria:

- Their usefulness to LRE practitioners in planning and implementing programs. Usefulness was in part judged by the extent to which the research reviewed shed light on aspects of LRE programming particularly valued by the NTDP/YFJ.
- Their understandability. We looked for articles that were not overly technical but still were sufficiently detailed to allow for critical reading.
- Integrity and technical quality.

This part of the compendium is organized into three sections. The first section focuses on the research that has provided the foundation for the vision of LRE practiced by the NTDP/YFJ, including both the impact study conducted in the early 1980s and an ethnographic study of institutionalization of LRE conducted later in the decade. The second section looks at other research on school-based law-related/civic education. The final section presents several articles on research in other areas of education—social studies generally, for example—that support the project vision of LRE.

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A. Foundations of LRE as Practiced by the National Dissemination and Training Project/ Youth for Justice

When the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention began funding LRE in 1979, its primary interest was in LRE's utility as a delinquency prevention strategy. Consequently, the initial evaluation of the research and demonstration phase of the national project's efforts (1979-1984) focused on the impact of LRE on students' knowledge, attitudes, and law-abiding behavior. The majority of this section of the compendium presents excerpts from a report of that evaluation study. The report we are excerpting was revised and adapted from the project final report by Grant Johnson and Robert Hunter, both of the Center for Action Research, which conducted the evaluation study with the Social Science Education Consortium.

The results of the study served as the foundation for the National Training and Dissemination Program, which began in 1984 and represented the second phase of the project. In particular, the study identified six features that distinguished more effective LRE classes from the rest. They are:

- Adequate preparation and use of outside resource persons.
- Quality and quantity of instruction: checking for student understanding, stating learning objectives, and providing a sufficient quantity of instruction and depth and density appropriate to the material covered.
- Judicious selection and presentation of illustrative material and management of controversy.
- Active participation and student interaction.
- Involvement of building administrators.
- Professional peer support for teachers.

The Johnson-Hunter report describes the work in delinquency prevention that served as the underpinnings of the evaluation, the methodology used in the study, and the findings. It also describes how the features that became the foundations of law-related education as practiced by the NTDP emerged from the study and elaborates upon each of these features. These features are discussed in a slightly different context in the second item in this section, an article written by Mary Jane Turner, director of the evaluation study at SSEC, which examines the implications of the study findings for teaching.

In 1987, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention decided to sponsor a second research effort—a study of institutionalization of law-related education. The study, conducted by the Social Science Education Consortium, was designed to answer two questions:

- How do law-related education programs become institutionalized?
- What factors influence institutionalization?

The researchers found that, while a definite institutionalization "road map" could not be drawn, several signposts along the road could be identified. These signposts related to the following variables:

- LRE program characteristics (e.g., instructional materials, resource people, high-visibility events).
- School district characteristics (e.g., organizational decision-making traits, political considerations, receptive versus rejecting atmosphere, reputation of the LRE program, sources and kinds of support).
- Social climate.
- Individual characteristics of teachers.
- Manner of implementation (e.g., training and follow-up support, decisions about infusion vs. electives vs. mandating).

The third item in this section is excerpted from the final report of the institutionalization study, describing the study, the research on institutionalization on which the research was based, and the findings. The final item is a briefer discussion of the findings, presented in brief "signpost" form.

Law-Related Education as a Delinquency Prevention Strategy: A Three-Year Evaluation of the Impact of LRE on Students*

Revised and Updated by
Grant Johnson and Robert Hunter
Center for Action Research

1. Introduction

Scope of the Research

LRE is a program of instruction to build students' conceptual and practical understanding of the law and legal processes. But the findings reported here do not apply to every course fitting that broad definition. The courses evaluated used materials intended to provide a foundation for improved citizenship skills, ability to work within the legal system to settle civil grievances and deal with criminal problems, reasoned understanding of the basis for rules, and favorable attitudes toward law enforcement and the justice system. All LRE classes in the study used curricula developed by the Constitutional Rights Foundation (CRF), Law in a Free Society (LFS—now Center for Civic Education), or National Institute for Citizen Education in the Law (NICEL—now Street Law, Inc.). The preferred methods for presenting those curricula were strategies conducive to:

- Active involvement of all students, including those who ordinarily may have difficulty becoming engaged in classroom work.
- Avenues for students to demonstrate competence beyond those offered through traditional testing.
- Favorable settings for nonthreatening interaction among students and between students and police, attorneys, and other justice-related personnel.

The objectives of the courses studied included *improvement of students' behavior and attitudes*, as well as their knowledge. The courses offered a coherent sequence of law-related topics, usually lasting an entire semester. Frequently integrated into that sequence were mock trials, use of legal and law enforcement professionals in the classroom, visits to courtrooms, participation in a student court, law-related small group exercises, police ridealongs, and home security audits. The findings do not apply, however, to any of those activities or events in isolation or as piecemeal additions to an otherwise conventional social studies course.

The concerns of the evaluators were the following:

- The impact of LRE on students.
- The quality of implementation of LRE with respect to classroom practices and support received by teachers.
- The training provided by the curriculum projects.
- Support services performed by all five national projects.
- Factors associated with institutionalization of LRE at local and state levels.

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*This September 1986 report is adapted from *Law-Related Education Evaluation Project Final Report, Phase II, Year 3*, submitted by the Social Science Education Consortium and the Center for Action Research to the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention on June 6, 1984. The work reported herein was supported by grant no. 79-JN-AX-0036 awarded by the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view or opinions stated do not necessarily represent the official position or policy of the National Institute for Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention or the U.S. Department of Justice.

To obtain data pertaining to those concerns, the evaluators administered pre- and post-questionnaires to some 1,600 LRE students and 900 comparison subjects (in the same schools as the LRE students); observed classrooms, training workshops, conferences, and meetings; and interviewed educational administrators, teachers, trainers, resource persons, and national project staff.

The evaluation activities included frequent formative feedback to the national projects for the purpose of improving their programs. Direct evaluation of classes occurred in spring of 1981, fall of 1982, and fall of 1983. The classes and programs studied were located in California, Colorado, Illinois, Michigan, Missouri, and North Carolina.

Prior Evaluation of LRE

A search of published literature and unpublished reports turned up seven previous studies which assessed one or more outcomes of some form of LRE and used comparison groups. All seven studies included measures of law-related knowledge; six of the seven assessed at least one attitudinal variable. None of the studies included any measure or indicator of behavior. In six studies, the comparison groups consisted of students who did not take an LRE course or, in one instance, those who did not receive a booklet about the law. Comparison subjects in the remaining study were students who received LRE from untrained teachers. Also found was a study of attitudinal and demographic correlates of existing levels of law-related knowledge (from whatever source obtained) among high school students. Findings from those eight studies are the subject of this section.

Knowledge Gain

All seven studies that assessed outcomes of exposure to LRE found significant gains in law-related knowledge. In one study (Hoffman and German, 1973), the exposure consisted of a booklet entitled *Youth and the Law*, prepared by the North Carolina Attorney General's office. Seventh- and eighth-graders who received the booklet became more knowledgeable about North Carolina law than those who did not receive it. In the remaining studies, exposure was in the form of an LRE course. In one of them (Denton and Kracht, 1976), students taught LRE by trained teachers were compared with those taught by untrained teachers. The former group learned significantly more than the latter. The rest of the studies compared students who took LRE with those who did not. Law-related knowledge gains favoring the LRE students were reported by every researcher who used this design (Donovan, 1975; Fraser and Smith, 1980; Jacobson and Palonsky, 1981; Kavanaugh and Gallagher, 1980; Nelson, 1979).

Attitudinal Improvement

Donovan (1975) found that LRE students had more desire to become involved in government than those who did not take the course. Hoffman and German (1973) reported that students who received the LRE booklet became more positive than comparison subjects in their attitudes toward police and the law, but *less* supportive of constitutional rights. Jacobson and Palonsky (1981) reported changes in the desired direction in fifth- and sixth-grade LRE students' attitudes toward the law, legal processes, crime, criminals, and punishment. Nelson (1979) found no direct LRE program effects on high school students' attitudes. Fraser and Smith (1980) measured five attitudinal dimensions in their study of tenth-grade LRE students in Australia and found improvement in only one, "influenceability of the law."*

Relationship between Knowledge and Attitudes

Carroll, et al. (1980), assessed relationships between existing levels of law-related knowledge (obtained from any source, not necessarily an LRE course) and several attitudinal variables among students in four Arizona high schools. Without speculating on sequential or causal direction, the researchers reported a significant negative correlation between law-related knowledge and authoritarianism and significant positive correlations between law-related knowledge and both legal-social responsibility and educational expectations.

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*In a study conducted subsequent to the evaluation reported here, Van DeCar (1984) found that junior and senior high school students who received LRE were more likely than control subjects to (1) hold authority accountable to standards of responsible conduct, (2) stress positive rather than prohibitive functions of the legal system, and (3) have active conceptions of citizen participation and their own roles within the legal system.

Among the other studies described in this section, exposure to LRE produced knowledge gains more consistently than attitudinal changes. In one study which showed significant improvement by LRE students in both knowledge and attitudes, the researchers (Jacobson and Palonsky, 1981) nevertheless found virtually no association between knowledge of legal concepts and positive attitudes among LRE students. They concluded that the students who learned the most about the law were not necessarily those who developed more favorable attitudes toward the law.

The present evaluation goes beyond previous research by (1) including measures of behavior (self-reported delinquency) and (2) assessing a large array of attitudinal and social variables organized around a body of tested contemporary delinquency theory (as detailed in the next section of this report). Comparable measures to assess behavioral, attitudinal, and other outcomes of LRE were used in the many diverse classrooms evaluated in the present study. In addition, records from on-site observers provide documentation of what actually occurred in those classrooms.

Theoretical Foundation of the Study

During the year preceding the start of the impact evaluation, 180 interviews were conducted with LRE teachers, school administrators, and other professionals already involved in LRE. Most were optimistic about the possibility that LRE could improve students' attitudes and behavior. Respondents offered a variety of reasons for holding that view; many of those reasons took the form of presumed causes of delinquency that LRE seemed capable of affecting. LRE was seen as helpful in overcoming potential delinquents' ignorance of the law, their inadequate awareness of the consequences of delinquent acts, and their inability to make reasoned decisions pertaining to right and wrong behavior. Although plausible, the relevance of these factors to delinquency was largely untested. The interviews, as well as discussions with national project staff, also suggested a number of ways in which LRE was likely to affect theory-based variables whose causal relationship with behavior had already been demonstrated by earlier research. These variables became the basis for most of the outcome measures used in the present study.

Social control, strain, and labeling theories contain a number of factors established by previous research as causally related to law-abiding behavior. Key elements among these are commitment, attachment, involvement, belief in the necessity and fairness of rules, positive labeling, equality of opportunity, and association with nondelinquent peers. A program capable of enhancing some of these factors has the potential to reduce delinquency. Although many aspects of a student's school experience may have that capability, reports obtained from educators and national project staff before the impact study began suggested that LRE was more likely than conventional curricula to produce favorable effects.

According to social control theory (Hirschi, 1969), most people stay out of trouble most of the time because they are bonded to society's norms through their affiliations at home, school, workplace, and church. As long as at least one of these ties remains strong and rewarding, an individual has a compelling incentive to engage in socially approved behavior. For most young persons, the chief sources of support for proper conduct are home and school. Those who see little reason to value either of those affiliations are likely to turn to likeminded peers for approval. Among peers who share a sense of alienation from home and school, some of the bonding that usually occurs is to norms that reward violations of rules. The path for achieving satisfaction and a sense of legitimacy in the adult-dominated spheres of family and school is consistent proper conduct, while that of the youth-dominated sphere of peer relationships often includes delinquent behavior.

Refining earlier work of Nye (1958) and others, Hirschi described four control processes through which conformity is maintained. The first is *commitment*, which rests on an individual's perception that something worthwhile results from maintaining good standing in a legitimate position (e.g., that of student) and that the loss of such standing would carry costs outweighing any benefits from rule-breaking. The interviews with experienced LRE teachers and school administrators who had adopted the program indicated a prevalent belief among the respondents that their students valued LRE more highly than most other courses. Based on their experience, the educators credited LRE with providing content perceived by students as unquestionably relevant and useful, generating especially rewarding interaction in class, and offering students who had difficulty mastering other subjects opportunities to participate successfully. Among factors a student might consider in assessing the worth of school, LRE was seen by respondents as a definite plus.

A second control process is *attachment* to other people. To violate a norm is to violate the wishes and expectations of others; a low level of attachment to people who expect law-abiding behavior makes violations more likely. One plausible link between LRE and this factor was the prospect that teachers who convey material that students see as useful and who model the principles of fairness they are teaching about would be more promising candidates for student attachment than those who do not. A second link was the practice encouraged by the national projects of bringing outside resource people from the justice system into LRE classrooms—allowing personal contact between students and police, lawyers, and judges. Turning these stereotypic symbols of authority into real people in the eyes of students could at least provide a foundation for attachment to them.

A third control process is *involvement*, which refers to a person's ongoing allocation of time and energy to certain conventional activities. The activities associated with law-abiding behavior are productive ones (like homework) and do not include recreation and passive entertainment. Reports from educators that LRE made students enthusiastic participants in a useful learning experience were consistent with an expectation that the students would devote more time and energy to at least this aspect of their school work.

The fourth control process is *belief* that rules governing behavior are both necessary and fair enough to merit being obeyed consistently. Affecting this element are the individual's views of the degree of fairness and equity in the justice system and—at least among youth—level of respect for the police. In a study of youth in northern California, Hirschi (1969) found lack of respect for the police to be associated both with lack of respect for the law and with delinquent behavior, *even among youth who had never had contact with the police*. The finding of a relationship between negative attitudes towards the police and delinquent behavior was not surprising; it had been found repeatedly in prior research. However, while some researchers have taken this finding to indicate that delinquents are more likely to have had unpleasant encounters with police, Hirschi's evidence indicates that lack of respect can occur independently of such contacts and be affected by the image projected by representatives of law enforcement and, presumably, of the broader justice system.

Reports from practitioners and examination of test materials and teachers' guides indicated that many LRE lessons convey the necessity for rules, e.g., by dramatizing the difficulty of living for even a short time without them. The LRE curriculum materials represented in this study also describe the basis for procedures and principles involved in the administration of justice. To counter the disproportionate news coverage received by apparent miscarriages of justice, an LRE course lets students learn about the fairness that usually prevails in the system. In addition, many LRE courses provide occasions for nonthreatening personal contact between students and law enforcement and justice practitioners. Considering these characteristics of the course, the prospect that LRE could heighten students' belief in the moral validity of rules and their enforcement appeared reasonable.

According to strain theory (Merton, 1938; Cloward and Ohlin, 1960), our society tends to hold out the same goals to everyone as desirable. However, legitimate avenues for achieving those goals are not open equally to all. The combination of similarity of goals and inequality of access to legitimate means makes it impossible for some people to obey the rules and still achieve their goals. Consequently, some turn to illegitimate, perhaps delinquent, means. Others may reject both the goals and the means and retreat socially by using alcohol and/or drugs. The principal preventive measure implied by this theory is creation of *greater equality of opportunity*. For some students, failure in school becomes self-perpetuating: in many subjects, unlearned material from a previous year can make demonstrating competence and participating actively in a current class more difficult. Mastering the practical content of LRE relies relatively little on previous academic learning, and recommended LRE teaching strategies are designed in part to engage all students and offer them opportunities to excel. LRE appeared a promising vehicle for breaking the pattern of diminished opportunity experienced by some students.

According to labeling theory (Becker, 1963), attaching negative or derogatory descriptions to persons affects their situations and behavior. Although advocates of this perspective commonly assume that the most damaging labels are those conferred by the justice system, evidence published in the past 14 years challenges this assumption (Foster, Dinitz, and Reckless, 1972; Fisher, 1972; Gove, 1980). Evidence obtained by Chastain (1977)* supports the conclusion that the most serious consequences occur when negative labels are introduced into a setting that has ongoing salience to the person labeled and in such a way that opportunities in that setting are restricted. Some persons, by virtue of race, class, or previous academic rating, may be particularly susceptible to such labeling in schools. When trouble is expected and productivity is not, the opportunities for bonding to conventional activities and actors are diminished and the probability of delinquent behavior is increased. The reverse is true when *positive labels* are attached to students and opportunities are not restricted. Many of the educators interviewed prior to the impact study mentioned being surprised by the way that students they had regarded as less than promising "opened up" and performed in an LRE class. After their exposure to students in an LRE classroom, some resource persons also reported viewing and reacting to young persons more favorably than they had previously. Measures of labeling variables appeared worth including as possible outcomes of LRE.

According to the theoretical perspective outlined here, favorable change in the six dimensions described (the four control processes, along with opportunity and labeling) should increase the probability of association with nondelinquent (rather than delinquent) peers and in turn reduce the likelihood of delinquent behavior. If LRE could affect those six dimensions favorably, by this logic it could have secondary impact on peer relationships. In addition, some of the recommended components of LRE feature cooperative tasks (such as mock trials) that are eminently suited to strategies already demonstrated to be capable of affecting friendship choices directly; those strategies are task and reward interdependence and deliberate mixing of abilities in the formation of working groups (Slavin, 1980). Accordingly, measures of peer relationships were included in the catalog of possible outcomes in the LRE impact evaluation.

A diagram of the theoretical variables just described appears in Chapter 2.

Overview of the Impact Findings

A total of 69 LRE classes and 44 comparison classes in 36 schools were in the three-year study. In successive years, both the quality of the courses evaluated and the quality of the research improved. The number of variables assessed through student questionnaire responses ranged from 23 in 1981 to 42 in 1983. In the selection of variables to measure, factors known to be related to law-abiding or delinquent behavior received first priority. Many of these dimensions pertain directly to schooling and are of interest on purely educational grounds. The set of measures chosen includes attitudes toward school and teachers, homework habits, perceived fairness of grades and discipline, classroom interaction, attentiveness in class, and gains in knowledge. In addition, the measures of behavior, attitudes toward deviance and personal violence, perceptions of police and judges, and peer relationships are relevant to good citizenship, another concern of educators.

With respect to delinquency, the general summation of findings remained the same for each year of the study. ***When properly implemented, LRE can***

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*Chastain (1977) found that negative self-perceptions were determined far more by isolation in school than by judicial processing; among delinquent youth, negative judicial labels had little effect on self-perceptions when responses in school continued to be favorable.

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serve as a deterrent to delinquent behavior. Better courses and better research make this perennial conclusion more defensible today than it was after the first year of the study, and the features that constitute "proper implementation" can now be specified more precisely.* ***To say that "LRE reduces delinquency" seriously misstates a conclusion of the study.*** Today, as in 1981, very diverse courses and events bear the name "LRE." Even classes having identical course descriptions may differ drastically in practice. A belief that everything called LRE will have a uniform effect on students' behavior or perceptions is unreasonable. From the standpoint of delinquency prevention, some LRE classes in the study clearly demonstrated significant favorable impact. Less powerfully (due to less stringent design), the research also identified both ineffective LRE classes and harmful ones.

Despite their diversity, the classes studied produced a few outcomes with striking regularity. In virtually all LRE classes (even the few judged "harmful"), student's factual knowledge of the law and legal processes increased significantly. The vast majority of LRE classes received superior ratings from students (relative to comparison classes) as being "really helpful" and "better than most other courses taken." In addition, the grades that students would give their teachers were much higher in nearly all LRE classes than in comparison classes. In sum, LRE in many forms is likely to appeal to students and increase their factual knowledge. There is less latitude, however, when the course objectives include improving student attitudes, perceptions, and behavior.

Organization of This Report

Chapter 2 describes the methods used to assess the impact of LRE on students, as well as three other dimensions: quality of classroom implementation of LRE, nature of training received by practitioners, and progress toward institutionalization. Included are the numbers and distribution of experimental and control subjects by school level in each year of the study, an explanation of impact data analysis procedures, and an account of practices and events rated by classroom observers.

Chapter 3 reports findings on (a) the impact of LRE on students, (b) the quality of implementation of the program—including variations by year and among classes and an illustration of formative feedback given to the national projects, (c) the relationship between impact on students and quality of implementation, (d) teacher training and teaching experience and the influence of these elements on student impact, and (e) processes required for institutionalization of appropriate LRE instruction.

Chapter 4 presents a series of recommendations for improved implementation of LRE. It describes six categories of features that distinguish the more effective LRE classes in the study from the less effective ones.

2. Methods

The main purpose of the evaluation was to document both the process and outcomes of implementing LRE. In addition, the evaluators were responsible for providing formative feedback to trainers and other national project staff to help them improve their LRE programs over the course of the study. To accomplish these tasks, the evaluation team collected and analyzed information on (1) the impact of LRE on students, (2) the quality of classroom implementation of LRE, (3) the nature and effects of specialized training received by teachers and school administrators, and (4) factors associated with growth and permanence (institutionalization) of state and local LRE programs. This chapter describes the methods used for collection and analysis of data in each of those four categories.

Impact of Law-Related Education on Students

Evaluation of the impact of LRE on students occurred in spring of 1981, fall of 1982, and fall of 1983. Students in LRE and comparison classes completed questionnaires at the start and end of those semesters. The classes used for comparison always were located in the same schools as the LRE classes. The comparison classes typically were American history or government at the high school level and civics at the junior high level. Comparison students in elementary school received conventional social studies during the time that the experimental students received LRE.

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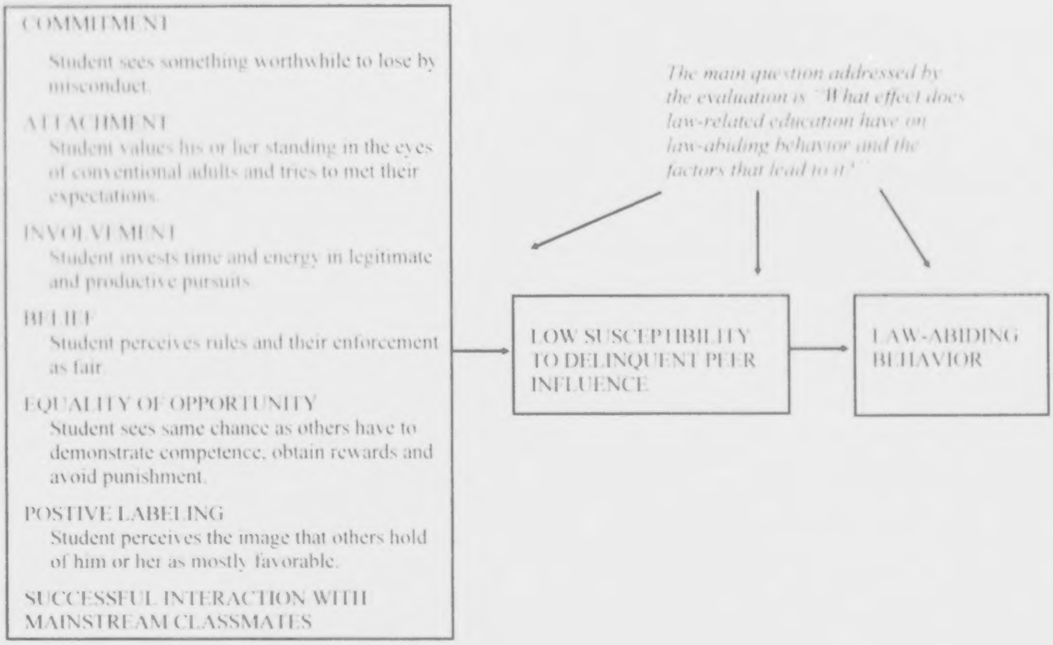
*Chapter 4 of this report describes those features.

At one school in 1982 and 1983 (having a total of 12 LRE classes), scientific random assignment was used to place ninth-grade students in either LRE or regular civics classes; at that school, the researchers used a true experimental design. In the closest approximation to such a design that the evaluators were able to negotiate elsewhere, the project called for the selection of experimental and comparison classes of comparable age, sex, ethnic, and academic level characteristics in each site. The students in each class were, however, assigned by the usual student placement process—resulting in a quasi-experimental design at those sites.

A total of 2,267 students completed both pre- and post-questionnaires during the three years of the study.

Grounds for expecting LRE to reduce delinquent behavior come from social control, opportunity, and labeling theories. These theories contain a number of elements established by previous research as causally related to law-abiding behavior; the elements were defined in Chapter 1 of this report and appear in the diagram in Figure 1. Most of the outcome measures used in the student impact questionnaires are operationalizations of the elements in the diagram. The greater the degree to which the elements in the lefthand column of the diagram are present, the less a young person's need to obtain

FIGURE 1: Basis in Delinquency Theory for the Outcome Measures Used to Evaluate Law-Related Education


COMMITMENT
Student sees something worthwhile to lose by misconduct.
ATTACHMENT
Student values his or her standing in the eyes of conventional adults and tries to met their expectations.
INVOLVEMENT
Student invests time and energy in legitimate and productive pursuits.
BELIEF
Student perceives rules and their enforcement as fair.
EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY
Student sees same chance as others have to demonstrate competence, obtain rewards and avoid punishment.
POSTIVE LABELING
Student perceives the image that others hold of him or her as mostly favorable.
SUCCESSFUL INTERACTION WITH MAINSTREAM CLASSMATES
The main question addressed by the evaluation is "What effect does law-related education have on law-abiding behavior and the factors that lead to it?"
LOW SUSCEPTIBILITY TO DELINQUENT PEER INFLUENCE
LAW-ABIDING BEHAVIOR

The variables shown come from social control (bonding) theory, opportunity theory, and labeling theory. Their associations with nondelinquent behavior have been established by previous research.

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personal rewards from delinquent peers and the less the likelihood that delinquent behavior will ensue.

In addition to scales derived from delinquency theory, the student impact questionnaires included:

- A test of knowledge about the law and principles underlying the legal system, varied to suit the particular curriculum in use at each school.
- A series of 21 self-report items to assess the frequency with which a subject had committed each of 11 types of offense during the preceding semester.*
- Items allowing students to rate their course and teacher.

In analyzing longitudinal data from the questionnaires in 1981, residual gain analysis was used to control for the effect of time-1 (pretest) scale scores and behavior frequencies on changes during the semesters studied. To assess differences between an LRE and a control class, mean residual gains for all students *in* the respective classes were compared; t-tests were applied to determine which differences of means were statistically significant. In 1982 and 1983, multiple regression analysis was used to control for the effects of pretest scores. In the analysis, the posttest score or frequency was treated as the dependent variable, with pretest score specified as the first independent variable to enter the analysis. Only then did the LRE/non-LRE variable enter the equation. As a consequence, the analysis showed how much additional effect LRE had, over and above the effect of pretest score. Outcomes favoring LRE signify a net improvement relative to comparison subjects on particular dimensions. In the case of delinquent behavior, a favorable outcome would indicate that LRE students displayed either a greater decrease or a smaller increase than comparison subjects in their frequency of committing certain offenses.

At the site with a true experimental design, the evaluators conducted a 16-month followup study of students who participated in the 1982 research. Students who had received LRE during the first half of ninth grade and those in the control group at the same school that year completed an additional questionnaire at the end of their first year of high school. Multiple regression analysis was used to determine the degree to which the effects of LRE shown at time-2 still were in evidence 16 months later.

Quality of Classroom Implementation of Law-Related Education

Information on what actually occurred in LRE classrooms was obtained through structured observations. Trained evaluation staff visited seven of the ten LRE classes in the 1981 study from two to four times each. In 1982 and 1983, each LRE class was observed five or six times and each comparison class twice. The observation procedure followed in every year of the study included completion of a minute-by-minute log during a class, interviews with the teacher before and after the class, and subsequent flagging and rating of key practices and events shown in the log.

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*Self-reported delinquency was selected as the most appropriate measure of behavior for this study. The number of offenses reflected in official records constitutes only a small fraction of that obtained through offender self-reports, making the latter a more sensitive measure of behavior. The validity and reliability of self-reports of delinquency (and their suitability for different types of research) have been the subjects of many major studies during the past 20 years. Researchers have compared self-reports of delinquent behavior with official police and court records, have employed undercover informants or "tails" to observe subjects' behavior before self-reports are obtained, have administered polygraph tests, and have compared self-reports with reports obtained from victims. This wealth of research has demonstrated that self-reports are sufficiently valid and reliable to be suitable by themselves to measure delinquent behavior in field studies. A summary of such studies and conclusions appears in Hindelang, et al. (1981); a critical review of methodological issues surrounding self-reports and other types of behavioral measures appears in Huizinga and Elliott (1984).

An additional drawback to using official records in this study is the possibility suggested by some that LRE may teach students how to avoid getting caught, even if their level of delinquent behavior stays the same had official records been used; skill in avoiding apprehension would have been an alternative explanation for any apparent reduction in delinquent behavior.

In the present study, students received written and verbal assurance of the confidentiality of their responses. The assurance included the information that if a researcher divulged their answers to the teacher or anyone else, the researcher was subject to a $10,000 fine (under U.S. Department of Justice regulations).

At the time the study began, national LRE curriculum developers had prepared pointers for effective use of their materials, and the evaluators had reviewed literature on effective teaching and the body of delinquency theory described elsewhere in this report. This prior work was the basis for selecting what to highlight and rate in the 1981 classroom observations. The elements selected were grouped to yield indications of the prospects that an LRE class would (a) build positive attitudes toward the law, (b) increase attachments to the school, and (c) favorably alter peer relationships.

The observation format used in 1982 and 1983 gave greater attention to those elements that most strongly differentiated successful from unsuccessful classes (in terms of delinquency prevention) in the 1981 study. An illustrative list of favorable and unfavorable classroom practices from the 1982-1983 format appears in Figure 2. The list permitted ratings of observed classes along nine dimensions—two pertaining to quality of curriculum treatment, three to quality of instruction, and four to quality of interaction.

In each year of the study, analysis of observational data proceeded independently from the impact analysis. Neither the persons who assigned qualitative ratings to classes nor those who computed outcomes from the numerical questionnaire responses were privy to the others' data until after both analyses were completed. In 1981, the head of the observation team used observers' records to rate each of the seven classes on a scale from one to five on its prospects for having three kinds of desired effects. The same person then ranked the classes from highest to lowest in terms of their composite ratings on the three dimensions. In 1982 and 1983, a committee reviewed all observers' records and applied uniform criteria to rate each class "high," "moderate," or "low" on nine dimensions.

LRE Training Received by Teachers and Administrators

In all three years of the study, evaluators observed training sessions conducted by national project staff, administered pre- and post-questionnaires to trainees, and interviewed trainers before and after the sessions. Followup interviews near the end of each semester were used to obtain teachers' retrospective assessments of the training they had received three to five months earlier. The evaluators combined this information with each year's classroom observation findings as the basis for formative feedback to projects; by the end of each year, national project staff had received recommendations for improving their next round of training.

In 1983, the evaluators conducted a substudy to assess the effects of differential exposure to training and level of prior LRE teaching experience. At each of four junior high schools, pre- and post-questionnaires were completed by students in two LRE classes—one taught by a veteran teacher who had participated in multiple training sessions and the other taught by a teacher with less training and experience. The design and analysis were identical to those used in the main impact study (as described in the first section of this chapter), expect that in this substudy one LRE class was compared with another LRE class (instead of with a non-LRE class). A total of 228 students participated in the substudy.

Institutionalization

To assess progress toward institutionalization of LRE at state and local levels, the evaluators interviewed educational administrators and collected a variety of documents from sites and the national projects. Collected were reports to OJJDP, letters and memoranda, conference agendas, state plans, and published articles related to LRE. In review and analysis of this material, the primary concern was to identify (1) processes by which institutionalization occurs, (2) impact of LRE programs on the educational and justice systems, (3) the processes that affect those systems with respect to receptivity to change, and (4) the use of professional publications and meetings to promote awareness of LRE.

FIGURE 2: Some Favorable (+) and Unfavorable (-) Practices Recorded in Classroom Observations

QUALITY OF CURRICULUM TREATMENT

Depth and Density

+ Students learn concepts, terminology and procedures before a mock trial, guest resource person, or other high-interest event.	- High-interest activities occur without sufficient foundation to maximize learning from those activities.
+ Teacher insists on conveying all facts of a case before allowing arguments or opinion.	- Teacher or students start expressing opinions before the objective facts are heard.
+ Time spent on a topic is proportionate to its importance and complexity. Illustrative examples occur only to the extent needed for adequate understanding.	- Either student interest or the teacher's level of comfort or expertise with a topic appear to dictate the amount of time spent on it, regardless of its importance. Examples are too few or too many.
+ Students are on task shortly after a period begins and remain on task for the bulk of the period.	- Digressions, housekeeping, joking, or excessive drill take substantial time from the lesson.

Selection and Balance

+ Teacher acknowledges flaws in law enforcement and judicial practices and permits examples and discussion of them, but also points out remedies and safeguards built into the sytem and depicts miscarriages of justice as exceptional.	- Teacher encourages or permits a depiction of the justice system as either flawless or rampant with unfairness. Discussion of a controversial issue related to fairness is allowed to stop without reaching closure.
+ Before debating an issue, students receive instruction in listening to one another and basing their arguments on the merits of a case rather than personalities. As debate occurs, students receive corrective feedback.	- Student debate resembles a name-calling contest or screaming match as much as reasoned argument and is allowed to continue without corective feedback.

QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

Stated Objectives

+ Teacher has learning objectives written on the board at the start of class and tells students the purpose of the day's lesson.	- The lesson begins with no more than directions about what students are to do and students are left to figure out for themselves the purpose.

Checking for Understanding/Practice

+ Teacher either polls the whole class or calls on a cross-section of students (not just those with hands raised) to assure their understanding of one block of material before moving on to the next.	- Teacher relies on perfunctory checks ("any questions?") or takes answers only from students who volunteer or raise their hands.

Direction-Giving

+ Teacher gives directions that produce minimal confusion or further questions before students perform a task; directions immediately precede an activity and are given one at a time.	- Teacher gives multiple directions at once and must repeat some of them as an activity progresses. Some students wind up off task because they do not know what they are supposed to do.

QUALITY OF INTERACTION

Active Participation

+ Teacher promotes moderate to high student participation with talk by nearly all students; a handful of students do not dominate classroom discussion.	- A substantial proportion of students remain passive. Teacher relies excessively on lecture or does nothing to engage reticent students in talk.

Suitable Group Work

+ Groups are used for tasks that are best accomplished through joint effort, are deliberately composed of a heterogeneous mix of students, and can result in group rewards.	- Groups do little more than "discuss and report," are composed out of convenience (e.g., students who already sit together), and provide little opportunity for mutual help or reward.

Reactive Management

+ The need for disciplinary action is infrequent; the duration and intensity of such action, when taken, do not exceed the minimum necessary to stop the problem.	- Disciplinary actions either do not occur when needed or constitute "overkill," resulting in substantial time off task.

Opportunities for Bonding

+ Students know clearly what they must do to demonstrate competence and are made to feel comfortable trying.	- Uncertain expectations or perceived risk of embarassment make students' attempts to demonstrate competence unnecessarily difficult.
+ Teacher delivers material that students can perceive as useful beyond the classroom, relating topics to current events or students' own experiences.	- Teacher simply follows the text and emphasizes rote learning over application of the information conveyed.

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3. Findings

In every year of the study, students in LRE and comparison classes completed pre- and post-questionnaires at the start and end of semesters; all classes used for comparison were located in the same schools as the LRE classes. Evaluators combined student impact testing with interviews and direct observations involving a broad range of participants. Members of the evaluation team interviewed teachers, school administrators, community resource people, and others who had participated in the classroom. They observed in experimental and comparison classrooms, in training sessions, and in district seminars.

The first section of this chapter reports on the impact of LRE on students, based on quantitative analysis of their questionnaire responses. The second section used classroom observers' records to give an account of quality of implementation of the program in the various schools studied. The third section describes the relationship between impact on students and quality of implementation. The topic of the fourth section is teacher training and teaching experience of those who participated in the study. It includes findings from a substudy designed to assess the contribution that teacher training and experience make to impact of LRE on students. The fifth section provides an account of factors associated with institutionalization (or permanence) of LRE.

Impact of Law-Related Education on Students

As described in Chapter 2, the measures used to assess impact of LRE on students in each year of the study included scales derived from tested delinquency theory, a test of knowledge about the law and the justice system, a series of self-report items pertaining to the frequency with which a subject had committed each of 11 types of offense, and items allowing students to rate their course and teacher. Outcomes attributed to LRE represent differences between LRE and comparison students' posttest scores in a given school, *controlling for differences in pretest scores*.

Summary of Findings from 1981 and 1982 (Including 16-Month Followup)

The ten LRE classes included in the 1981 study were an intentional mix of those nominated by national project staff as having high and low prospects for success. (Two of the criteria for nomination were the amount of training received by teachers and the apparent level of administrative support for the course.) Both the impact findings and reports of classroom observers attested to wide variation in what was implemented as LRE. Despite relatively uniform knowledge gains across classes, overall results with respect to student attitudes and behavior were a mix of good and bad news. The apparent net effect on the 23 outcome dimensions measured that year was favorable for 4 LRE classes, unfavorable for 4, and undiscernible for the remaining 2. As reported later in this chapter, the principal value of the findings was formative. Indications of what made some classes successful and others not successful were the basis for advice on how to improve future LRE classes.

In 1982, the evaluators obtained quantitative data on 36 dimensions: 10 categories of delinquent behavior, 22 antecedents of law-abiding behavior derived from the factors shown in Figure 1, and 4 dimensions not derived from delinquency theory (law-related knowledge, grade students would give their teacher, frequency of telling parents about something useful learned in school, and students' rating of their course relative to other courses). Measures of these dimensions were administered in 30 LRE classes and 22 comparison classes (in 8 of the 18 schools in the study, there were 2 LRE classes and one comparison class).

In three LRE classes and the three conventional civics classes used for comparison, experimental and control subjects had been randomly assigned—creating the first opportunity for a true experimental design. Among the 36 dimensions for which measures were obtained, there were statistically significant experimental-control differences (.05, one-tailed test) for 18. Outcomes on all 18 dimensions favored the LRE students over the civics students. In other words, the LRE students showed reductions in delinquency, improvements in factors associated with law-abiding behavior, and gains in the nontheoretical dimensions relative to control subjects. On nine additional dimensions, there were experimental-control differences which did not reach statistical significance; eight of those nine differences favored the LRE students over the civics students.

The outcomes favoring the LRE students included reductions in frequency of committing six categories of delinquent acts (out of the ten categories measured). Forty-six percent of the same experimental and control subjects (54 out of 118) were located 16 months later to participate in a followup study.* At 16-month followup (when subjects had just finished their 10th-grade school year), reductions in the former LRE students' delinquent behavior relative to that of control subjects were still evident for four of the six forms of delinquency. For three of the four types of behavior, the LRE students' advantage over the controls had increased with time. There was no outcome at followup which favored control subjects over the former LRE students.

For the remaining 27 LRE classes in 1982, both the significant differences between LRE students and comparison subjects and nonsignificant trends generally favor the LRE students. Lack of strong equivalence at some sites, however, leaves these latter findings less conclusive than those from the site where random assignment occurred. In the multiple regression procedure used, measured differences at time-2 that could be due either to LRE or to time-1 differences between experimental and comparison groups are always attributed to the latter. Where time-1 differences between the groups are substantial on a given measure, the prospects that LRE will demonstrate an effect (either favorable or unfavorable) are severely diminished. Of the 197 significant differences which were attributable to the course, 148 favored LRE students over comparison subjects.

Findings from 1983

In 1983, the evaluators obtained quantitative data on 42 dimensions: 11 categories of delinquent behavior, 26 antecedents of law-abiding behavior derived from the factors shown in Figure 1, and 5 dimensions not derived from delinquency theory. In the main study of impact on students, measures of these dimensions were administered to students in 21 LRE classes and 14 comparison classes. (Identical measures were administered in eight additional LRE classes in a substudy of the effects of teacher training and experience, as reported in a later section of this chapter.)

Findings Based on a True Experimental Design. In 1983, the evaluators were able to use a true experimental design to assess impact of the nine ninth-grade LRE classes taught at one junior high school. Findings yielded by this design are more defensible than the quasi-experimental findings obtained at other sites.

Before the start of the semester, an evaluation staff person applied a table of random numbers to the entire roster of ninth-graders at this school to determine the assignment of each student to one of the three courses: LRE taught by Instructor A (five sections), LRE taught by Instructor B (four sections), or traditional civics without LRE (two sections). Students assigned to traditional civics were the control group.

Random assignment between experimental (LRE) and control classes avoided a research weakness encountered in other schools in the national study, where either steering by counselors of certain students into LRE or (in the case of elective courses) self-selection could result in something other than a representative cross-section of students enrolling in LRE. Random assignment between the two experimental groups made it possible to assess the effects of any unplanned differences between the two LRE teachers' courses.

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*Random assignment has resulted in a strong match between experimental and control groups on the dimensions measured at the start of the study in 1982. To check on the original comparability of the diminished groups available for followup, t-tests were performed on their pretest measures—with the students who were no longer available excluded. The experimental and control subjects remaining in the study differed significantly on only one pretest measure ("agreement with rationalizations for deviance"). In short, attrition did not appear to compromise seriously the initial match between students assigned to LRE and those assigned to civics.

Of further benefit to the research was the way in which LRE was implemented at that school. For several years, the school had trained its teachers in innovative strategies and encouraged their use in the classroom. The LRE and control teachers in this study all were skilled in techniques to promote higher student involvement and interaction in the learning process, mastery learning and student team learning. With general quality of instruction held constant across classes, differences in outcomes between experimental and control students would represent the unique impact of LRE as a subject over and above the impact of superior instructional techniques.

The principal distinguishing characteristics of LRE were the content covered, activities associated with that content, and use of outside resource persons (police officers) in the classroom. The activities included mock trials, police ridealongs, home security audits, and students' taking the roles of police and other professionals in the justice system.

Through negotiations with the chief of police, the school principal obtained commitment of eight officers to the LRE program for the entire semester. This made it possible for at least one officer to participate three days a week in each LRE class. Teachers and police officers received three days of joint training prior to the start of the semester. Subsequently, the officers were able to assist in instruction by developing lesson plans; presenting topics such as search and seizure, DUI, preventing sexual assault, and being a good witness; interacting with students and teachers around controversial issues; and providing firsthand knowledge related to textbook content.*

Out of the total of 42 possible effects for each set of classes, there were 18 effects that were favorable and statistically significant at .05 for the classes taught by Instructor A and 24 for those taught by Instructor B. This is ten times the number of favorable outcomes expected to occur by chance (42 effects out of 84, compares with 4.2—or 5 percent—expected to occur by chance). In addition, there were another nine favorable outcomes (five for Instructor A and four for Instructor B) with significance levels between .05 and .10. There was no dimension affected unfavorably in either instructor's classes.

In short, students who received LRE would up better off than students who did not on most of the dimensions measured and worse off on none.

Comparison of the 1983 findings with those obtained a year earlier at this school (also with a true experimental design) suggests a possible unintended consequence of police participation in the program. Although LRE students again displayed gains relative to those in control classes in *favorable attitudes toward police* (16), the *control* students at the end of the fall 1983 semester scored as high on this measure as the LRE students had scored in the pilot program (two sections) the year before. Since the bulk of ninth-graders were receiving LRE in 1983, word-of-mouth may have resulted in a spread of this favorable effect to students who did not have direct classroom experience with police officers. Also, the LRE classrooms were located close to the control classroom in the same school corridor; all ninth-grade students would have become accustomed to the regular presence of police for reasons that had nothing to do with trouble.

The numerous uniformly favorable outcomes of the LRE program at this junior high school surpass those obtained elsewhere. A superior research design increased the prospects for identifying effects (both favorable and unfavorable), but most of the difference in outcomes appears due to quality of implementation. Distinguishing this program from many less successful ones were the extensive use of outside resource persons, the activities used to engage students, the choice and way of presenting illustrative material, and strong administrative support. In sum, the evaluators' observation of training and classrooms, logs submitted by teachers, and discussion with the principal indicate that the features associated with favorable impact on the dimensions measured were present to an extraordinarily high degree at this school.

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*For an account by the police of their participation in the program, see Seib, Lawrence (Chief of Police, Loveland, CO), and Capt. W.F. Schmoll (1985).

What are the prospects for repeating the program just described elsewhere? This school is unusual, but not in ways that are impossible to replicate. What sets it apart most are not demographic characteristics, but eagerness of its personnel to experiment with innovative courses and teaching strategies and their willingness to tolerate scheduling inconvenience for the sake of research to assess accurately what works and what does not. Located about halfway between Denver and the northern Colorado border, it is one of three junior high schools in its district. Seventeen percent of its 880 students come from low income families (as gauged by eligibility for subsidized school lunches) and 11 percent are minority. The prospects for replicating this program elsewhere depend less on demographic characteristics than on the feasibility of obtaining the seven conditions associated with institutionalization of LRE at the local level, as described in the final section of this chapter.

Findings From All Sites. Table 1 collapses the specific outcome variables measured into 14 categories and summarizes the impact findings for all 1983 LRE classes. The table shows the number of classes having significant favorable, mixed, or unfavorable impact on one or more components of each outcome category. The total count of classes having favorable impact exceeds the unfavorable count in every category, by an overall ratio of 11 to 1. The ratio is highest for junior high school classes and lowest for elementary classes.

TABLE 1: Number of LRE Classes Showing Significant (.05 or Better) Favorable, Mixed, or Unfavorable Impact Relative to Control Classes on Components of Each Outcome Dimension Measured in *Fall 1983*. (Note that this summary does not take account of trends—with significance levels between .05 and .10.)

OUTCOME DIMENSION	HIGH SCHOOL (5 Classes)			JR. HIGH (12 Classes)			ELEMENTARY (4 Classes)			TOTAL (21 Classes)		
	# Favorable	# Mixed or Zero	# Unfavorable	# Favorable	# Mixed or Zero	# Unfavorable	# Favorable	# Mixed or Zero	# Unfavorable	# Favorable	# Mixed or Zero	# Unfavorable
Law-related factual knowledge	5	0	0	12	0	0	4	0	0	21	0	0
Interaction with parents	3	2	0	9	3	0	1	3	0	13	8	0
Rating by students of their teacher and class	5	0	0	10	2	0	3	0	1	18	2	1
Commitment	5	0	0	10	2	0	3	1	0	18	3	0
Attachment	3	2	0	9	2	1	1	3	0	13	7	1
Involvement	5	0	0	10	0	2	1	3	0	16	3	2
Belief: Attitudes toward police and judges	0	5	0	11	1	0	1	3	0	12	9	0
Belief: Attitudes toward deviance and violence, rationalizations	0	3	2	9	1	2	1	2	1	10	6	5
Belief: Students' perceptions of fairness	5	0	0	11	1	0	2	2	0	18	3	0
Labeling	2	1	2	0	12	0	1	3	0	3	16	2
Peer relationships	3	2	0	10	1	1	3	1	0	16	4	1
Frequency of school rule infractions and student violence	2	3	0	9	3	0	0	3	1	11	9	1
Frequency of alcohol and drug use	0	5	0	9	3	0	0	4	0	9	12	0
Frquence of other delinquency	2	2	1	4	7	1	1	2	1	7	11	3

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For the five high school classes, significant favorable outcomes on the average exceeded the number expected to occur by chance by a ratio of nearly six-to-one and outnumbered unfavorable effects by more than seven-to-one. As reported in the preceding section, 9 of the 12 junior high classes had dramatic, uniformly favorable outcomes. In two of the remaining junior high classes, favorable effects exceeded the number expected by chance and outnumbered unfavorable effects, but by a much smaller margin. In the remaining junior high class, favorable effects just equaled chance expectations and were exceeded slightly by unfavorable effects. The same is true of one elementary class. In the other three elementary classes, the significant effects were uniformly favorable and exceeded chance expectations by ratios of from four- to six-to-one.

Although varying in number and magnitude, outcomes obtained in 19 of the 21 LRE classes studied in 1983 were either predominantly or entirely favorable.

Based on the classes in this study, some of the dimensions measured appear far more amenable than others to effects from LRE. Thirty of the 42 possible outcomes showed favorable effects (significant at .05 or .10) in 4 or more LRE classes out of 21. Only one outcome was affected unfavorably this often. Table 2 shows in descending order the percentage of classes having favorable and unfavorable effects in each dimension. That table also displays the estimated range of effect sizes for each dimension (computed in control group standard deviation units). As shown in a later section of this chapter, the classes that received high ratings from observers on their quality of implementation are usually the same classes that produced favorable effects on students. Accordingly, the figures in Table 2 should not be regarded as probabilities that any future LRE class will have an impact on a particular dimension. *The likelihood of favorable impact depends on how well a course is taught and how closely an LRE program adheres to the recommendations presented in the final chapter of this report.*

The effects attributed to particular LRE classes represent *average* (mean) outcomes for all students in a class. In 1982, large samples and resources available for additional analysis enabled us to address partially the question of which students are most likely to benefit from LRE. Separate analyses for male and female students showed no pattern of differential effects by gender (although classes containing at least 50 percent female students tended to produce favorable outcomes for both sexes more often than predominantly male classes). For some variables, however, there were significant interaction effects between the treatment variable (LRE) and students' pretest score, age, or both. The following is a summary of those effects (all significant at .05 or better, two-tailed test).

High School

Attachment to teachers: The older the student, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Rationalizations for deviance: The younger the student, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Negative labeling by parents: The more negatively labeled a student was at the pretest and the younger the student, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Negative labeling by friends: The less negatively labeled a student was at the pretest and the younger the student, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Violence against other students: The fewer acts of violence reported at the pretest, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Minor theft: The younger the student, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Go with group to break law: The greater the offense frequency at the pretest, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Marijuana use: The lower the offense frequency at the pretest, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Junior High School

Attachment to teachers: The older the student, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

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TABLE 2: Effects of LRE Obtained More Often than Expected by Chance Ranked from Most to Least Frequent (30 Out of 42 Items)

OUTCOME MEASURED	ALL LRE CLASSES (5 HS + 12 JHS + 4 Elem)		RANGE IN SIZE OF EFFECT (in control group standard deviation units)
	% Having Favorable Effect	% Having Unfavorable Effect	
Factual knowledge of the law and legal processes	100%	0%	4-1.7
Perception that the rules in this class have applied the same to everybody *	94%	0%	3-.8
When other students speak in this class, they have something worthwhile to say	90%	0%	4-1.2
Grade students would give their teacher for this course	86%	5%	5-1.2
"Clockwatching" in this class.*	82%	0%	8-1.5
Students' rating of this course relative to others (better, same, worse)	81%	0%	5-1.2
Encouragement from the teacher in this class of special projects by students	81%	10%	2-.7
Students rating of this course as being really helpful	76%	5%	3-1.1
Perceived opportunities for demonstrating competence to teachers	71%	0%	3-.9
Perception that the teacher in this class grades fairly *	71%	0%	3-.9
Really liking some teachers and believing they care about you as a person *	71%	5%	3-.5
The other students in this class pay attention when you are talking	71%	5%	4-1.0
Minor fraud (avoid paying for food, movies, shows)	62%	5%	2-.6
Amount of time spent doing homework *	59%	0%	2-.6
Go out with a group planning to fight or break the law	57%	0%	2-.2
School rule infractions (cheat on tests, skip school, and two more)	57%	5%	3-.4
Frequency of telling parents about something useful learned in a class	56%	5%	3-.7
Timely completion of assignments and coming to class prepared to participate *	53%	0%	3-.3
Believe that you are treated fairly in school with respect to rules, grades	52%	0%	5-1.0
Favorable attitudes toward police	52%	10%	2-.7
Importance of doing well and being regarded as a good student in this class.*	47%	0%	3-.4
Drinking alcohol	43%	0%	2-.3
Favorable attitudes toward personal violence	43%	19%	2-.4
Students in this class willing to help one another with questions, course work	38%	0%	4-.6
Support offered by teachers to build your interest and help you	33%	0%	4-.7
Vandalism (damage or destroy school or public property)	33%	5%	2-.3
Praise received at home for something done in school	29%	0%	2-.5
Belief that judges try to be fair and just	29%	0%	3-.7
Rationalizations that delinquent behavior is acceptable sometimes	19%	0%	4-.4
Your parents would agree that you get into trouble, are a bad kid	19%	0%	2-.2

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*Measured only at high school and junior high levels (17 classes).

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Exposure to delinquent peers: The less exposure reported at the pretest, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Vandalism: The fewer acts of vandalism reported at the pretest, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Marijuana use: The lower the offense frequency at the pretest, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Elementary School

Attitudes toward violence: The more a student favored violence at the pretest, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Rationalization for deviance: The more a student subscribed to rationalizations for deviance at the pretest, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Delinquent peer influence: The lower the influence at the pretest, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

School rule infractions: The greater the offense frequency at the pretest, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Nonschool status offenses: The older the student, the more favorable the effect of LRE.

Among the eight schools in the 1983 study, comparison of those having LRE classes with more and less favorable outcomes reveals no clear pattern of differentiation according to demographic characteristics. The schools with the highest and lowest percentage of minority enrollment both are in the "more favorable" category. The two schools with the highest percentages of low income students (those eligible for subsidized school lunches) fall in the "less favorable" category, although the percentage for one of the schools in the "more favorable" category is only slightly lower. *A more pronounced difference pertains to the number of LRE classes and teachers in a given school.* All four of the schools with more favorable outcomes offer multiple LRE classes, and three of them each have two LRE teachers. This is true of only one school having less favorable outcomes.

Summary of Student Impact Findings

From 1981 to 1983, evaluators assessed student impact of a total of 61 LRE classes. The study showed that LRE *can* improve students' attitudes, perceptions, and behavior. The proportion of evaluated classes producing significant favorable effects on these variables increased over the course of the study. In 1981, there were equal numbers of LRE classes having mostly favorable and mostly unfavorable outcomes; in 1983, 19 out of 21 classes had predominantly favorable outcomes (though with substantial variation in number and magnitude).

The outcomes obtained in 1983 show what is possible when implementation of LRE approximates a set of specified standards. Neither the strong experimental evidence nor the predominantly favorable quasi-experimental evidence reported here imply that adopting an LRE textbook and offering a course by that name will automatically impart law-abiding attitudes or improve students' behavior. Some classes have been far more successful than others in accomplishing these objectives. Their varying effectiveness can be attributed neither to chance nor to differing demographic characteristics of the schools in which they were offered.

The next three sections of this chapter report on factors that distinguish effective LRE classes from ineffective ones. The classes studied were uneven in observed quality, as well as in their impact on students. They all conveyed knowledge about the law, but the ones that succeeded in terms of delinquency prevention are those which combined practices recognized as conducive to quality instruction of any subject (e.g., checking for understanding) with practices recommended specifically for effective LRE (e.g., adept handling of debate around controversial legal issues). Consistent with this evidence is the additional finding that increased amounts of LRE training received by teachers and greater experience in teaching LRE tend to make LRE classes more effective.

Quality of Implementation

Classroom observations provide a record of what occurred in the classes studied in all three years of the evaluation. Observers' records yield information on the *process* that produced the quantitative outcomes reported in the preceding section. That information has been the basis for *formative* evaluation over the course of the study; i.e., feedback to trainers and others on ways to improve LRE classes in each successive year.

From the outset of the study, the expectation that LRE could produce gains in students' law-abiding behavior and factors associated with good citizenship presupposed the use of suitable curriculum materials *combined with thoughtful, skillful, and persistent use of certain classroom practices*. In order to make uniform judgments about the quality of implementation of LRE in individual classrooms, evaluation staff used an observation format to record a preselected set of practices and other classroom events likely to have either favorable or unfavorable consequences. The selection of what to record in 1981 (the first year of the study) was based on recommendations for effective implementation from national LRE curriculum developers, inferences from delinquency theory, and literature on effective teaching. The evaluators drew from the first year analysis to refine the observation format used in 1982 and 1983.

Quality of Implementation in 1981

Seven of the ten classes in the 1981 study were observed. Recorded classroom practices and events were grouped into three categories, each representing one dimension of quality of implementation. Based on the observers' reports, every class received a rating from "1" (lowest) to "5" highest on (a) prospects for building positive attitudes toward the law, (b) prospects for increasing attachments to the school, and (c) prospects for altering peer relationships favorably. The individual class rating ranged from a total of 6 to 14.

The highest rated classes used police officers as coteachers extensively for about half the semester. The high ratings on "prospects for building positive attitudes toward the law" reflect the balanced view presented by the regular teacher and the participating officers. Students heard neither sermon-like admonitions to obey the law nor unrelenting horror stories about guilty persons going free or innocent persons being punished. The high ratings on "attachments" in part reflect the good humor and warmth that the instructors conveyed to students (without taking time away from the lessons). The moderately high rating on "peer relations" resulted partly from encouragement given students to answer one another's questions during classroom discussion. No class received a rating of "5" on this dimension, because none made use of structured team learning exercises.

The lowest rating on the "attitude" dimension was for a class located in a predominantly Black inner-city school. On one of the days that class was observed, the teacher concluded a discussion of the Patty Hearst case by telling students, "Your ability to get justice depends on your lawyers and what you can afford to pay." On another observed day, the teacher remarked (without elaborating) that "a high percentage of police in this town are killing Blacks." The lowest rating on "peer relations" was for a class in which the teacher displayed a tendency to cut off enthusiastic discussion among students ("Hold it! I know more about this case than you do").

Although less detailed than in subsequent years, the 1981 observation ratings—as will be shown later in this chapter—proved to be extremely accurate predictors of the student impact findings obtained in the observed classes.

After analyzing the observation ratings, student impact data, and interview responses from teachers and administrators, the evaluators conducted two two-day meetings with project directors and trainers. At that time, curriculum projects received recommendations for strengthening their program of training and assistance in the coming year. Those recommendations are summarized in Figure 3.

Quality of Implementation in 1982

All classes in the 1982 study were observed. The observation format was altered to capture greater detail on program implementation and to assess more directly the features recommended for emphasis after the 1981 evaluation. Observers organized their classroom records around nine dimensions, grouped into three categories: *quality of curriculum treatment*, *quality of instruction*, and *quality of interaction*.* The following are highlights of observers' assessments of the 30 LRE classes.

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*Illustrations of each dimension appear in Chapter 2, Figure 2.

FIGURE 3: Formative Evaluation—Recommendations to National Projects for Strengthening Their Training and Assistance (Beginning in 1982)

Theoretical premises: Curriculum projects were asked to introduce participating teachers to underlying theoretical premises pertaining to delinquency prevention, on the grounds that an understanding of key principles might help teachers in sorting out the day-to-day or week-to-week judgments about the preparation of materials, design of lessons, and conduct of classroom instruction.

Instructional quality: Programs were advised to demonstrate and stress the importance of a carefully planned and executed sequence of instruction, adequate to the inherent complexity and ambiguity of the curriculum content, and to propose that schools give careful consideration to decisions about the amount of allocated time and the degree of congruence between LRE and other curriculum areas.

Selection/balance: Programs were advised to highlight the importance of the judicious selection and balance of curriculum materials and examples. While published curriculum materials tended to reflect the desired balance, supplemental materials or examples chosen by teachers sometimes erred on the side of violations of rights perpetrated in the name of justice or, conversely, jeopardized credibility by portraying the American system of justice as flawless.

Managing controversy: Programs were advised to provide teachers with guidelines and practice in managing controversy and conflict in the classroom.

Active student participation: Programs were advised to assist teachers in expanding the opportunities and tactics for generating active student participation, including more frequent student-to-student interaction.

Cooperative/small group work: Programs were advised to concentrate on methods for preparing and conducting small group (cooperative) activities in order to make them both productive and satisfying to students.

Preparation of outside resource people: Programs were advised to prepare guidelines for teachers on the adequate preparation of outside resource people for participation in classrooms.

Administrator and peer support: Programs were encouraged to solicit active administrator involvement as one requirement of site selection, and to cultivate on-site opportunities for peer support among participating teachers.

Quality of Curriculum Treatment: Depth and Density. In the first year's observations, evaluators had judged that, in many cases, instruction was neither organized nor sequenced nor paced in a way that led to in-depth understanding of complex and ambiguous concepts characteristic of LRE. Much of the classroom treatment was superficial, and teachers often felt at a disadvantage with respect to technical knowledge about the law. The projects addressed this problem in 1982 by encouraging teachers to draw upon knowledgeable community resource persons, by adding detail to curriculum materials, and, in one project, by making systematic and frequent use of law students as teachers in LRE classes. By observers' accounts, depth of treatment was still problematic. The strongest teachers used a variety of activities to teach the main concepts, probed in detail for students' reasoning and for examples, and established a classroom atmosphere in which uncertainty was acceptable (e.g., "we're learning this together"). In other classes, teachers accepted one-word answers in response to review questions, spent little time probing for student understanding, used a limited array of practice exercises, and frequently displayed inadequate preparation for the lesson.

Quality of Curriculum Treatment: Selection and Balance. In the previous evaluation, extreme depictions of law enforcement and justice as either near-perfect or rampant with flaws appeared to produce negative effects on students' belief in the moral validity of the law. That finding prompted a concern for "balance." Trainers conveyed this concern to teachers in their 1982 workshops, often pointing to published texts and teachers' guides as "safe" sources of examples and discussion topics. All but one of the LRE classes observed were rated at least adequate in achieving balance. Following the pointer given by trainers, a majority of the teachers taught straight from project materials.

Quality of Instruction. Recommendations for 1982 classes had included expanding the care with which teachers made clear to students what they were to learn, the persistence with which they checked the degree of students' understanding, and the clarity with which they presented tasks. Two-thirds of the 1982 classes included some attempt to establish the focus of the day's work, but that attempt only rarely involved an explicit statement of learning objectives.

Teachers exhibited considerable variation in the way in which they determined whether students understood main ideas and their application. In the eight classes rated high on this dimension, teachers used a variety of practice activities, asked questions of a broad range of students and probed extensively, and left time to debrief classroom activities.

Quality of Interaction. The level of active participation was judged to be high in about half of the classes on the grounds that participation was relatively widely distributed among students and deliberate efforts to promote student-to-student interaction were evident. One-third of the classes received high ratings for their skillful use of groups. Teachers of those classes designed appropriate tasks and gave students enough time to complete them. They taught and rewarded students for effective group process skills and assigned group roles; they debriefed both process and task.

Half of the 30 classes were rated high on opportunities for bonding. Students were encouraged to illustrate lesson topics with first-hand experiences and/or current events, and teachers emphasized the usefulness of the material taught. Ways of demonstrating competence seemed open to all students in the class, and they were made to feel comfortable in volunteering answers or contributing to class discussion. The atmosphere in those classes appeared conducive to students' increasing or confirming their attachments to school, teachers, and one another.

Quality of Implementation in 1983

The 1983 observation format was organized around the same dimensions as in the previous year, and guidelines applied by the observation team to assign high, moderate, and low ratings to classes were nearly identical in 1982 and 1983. On eight of the nine dimensions, a majority of the 21 LRE classes in 1983 were rated "high," based on observers' records. On every dimension, the percentage of highly rated classes in 1983 exceeded that in 1982. Evident contributors to that improvement were (a) a second round of formative feedback provided to trainers (e.g., recommendations to place more emphasis yet on stating learning objectives to students, striving for balance in class discussions of controversial legal issues, and checking for understanding by all in a class), (b) greater attention to strong support by building administrators as a site selection criterion, and (c) more prevalent use of outside resource persons.

Although the features that produced high and low ratings in 1983 generally corresponded to those in 1982, a few comments follow about observed differences between the two years.

Quality of Curriculum Treatment: Depth and Density. Improved ratings on this dimension resulted mainly from increased use of knowledgeable resource persons. Highly rated classes brought police officers or attorneys into the classroom,frequently or arranged for student contact with judges. The expertise of outsiders made it possible to treat important topics in depth, even where a teacher's specialized knowledge of those topics was limited.

Quality of Curriculum Treatment: Selection and Balance. In a greater proportion of classes than in the previous year, teachers augmented text materials with topics and illustrative materials of their own. They also probed more for opposing points of view in student discussion of law-related issues. Skillful handling of these practices resulted in high ratings for balance in most of the classes that used them. In the single low-rated class, the observer noted several instances of "preachy" elaboration of one point of view to the exclusion of others.

Quality of Instruction. In sharp contrast to 1982, most of the observed class periods in 1983 began with the day's learning objectives written on the blackboard. The teachers usually reviewed the objectives verbally before starting a lesson. Ratings for checking for understanding also improved substantially from one year to the next. In many of the highly rated 1983 classes, all students used hand signals periodically either to answer true-false review questions or to indicate whether they understood material just covered.

Quality of Interaction. The group exercises observed in 1983 tended to be more complex than in the previous year and sometimes included several days of preparation, usually for a role play or mock trial. For the longer exercises, teachers of most classes deliberately composed working groups so that each included a cross-section of student abilities. Mock trials in particular were designed to require a high level of task interdependence among members of particular teams. In four classes, team performance partially determined the individual grades received by members. Instances of reactive classroom management generally were less disruptive to lessons than in 1982, although in two observed classes disciplinary measures resulted repeatedly in considerable time off task.

Relationship between Impact on Students and Quality of Implementation

As reported in the preceding sections of this chapter, the LRE classes studied displayed considerable variation in both their measured impact on students and their rated quality of implementation. The subject of this section is evidence pointing to a relationship between impact and quality; i.e., to a conclusion that the capability of LRE to *improve citizenship and behavior is highly dependent on the way in which the course is implemented.*

Ranking of LRE Classes in the 1981 Study

Before learning results of the numerical analysis of the impact data, the head of the observation team ranked the seven observed classes from highest to lowest in terms of their quality of implementation. The highest rated classes were those judged from observers' records to have the strongest prospects for producing favorable effects on students' behavior. Without knowing the observation ratings, the person analyzing impact data used actual outcome findings to rank the same seven classes from most to least successful in affecting students' behavior favorably. Even though the analyses from the two data sources proceeded independently of each other, the rankings correspond for six of the seven classes, with the four highest being identically ranked. Table 3 displays the two rank orderings (from highest to lowest).

TABLE 3: Comparison of Actual and Predicted Impact on Delinquency in 1981 LRE Classes

Rank	Based on Impact Data	Based on Observation Data
1.	Class B (reduction in 5 types of offense)	Class B (tie: rating of 14)
2.	Class A (reduction in 4 types of offense)	Class A
3.	Class G (reduction in 2 types of offense)	Class G (rating of 11)
4.	Class F (reduction in 1 type of offense)	Class F (rating of 9)
5.	Class E (reduction in 2 and increase in 2 types of offense	Class C (tie: rating of 8)
6.	Class C (increase in 5 types of offense)	Class D
7.	Class D (increase in 7 types of offense)	Class E (rating of 6)

Comparison between 1982 and 1983 LRE Classes

All nine of the classroom dimensions rated by observers and 33 of the student impact dimensions measured in 1983 corresponded to those in 1982, permitting comparison of both quality of implementation and impact between the two years' classes. As discussed earlier, the percentage of classes receiving high ratings from observers was higher in 1983 than in 1982 on every classroom dimension rated. The proportion of LRE classes demonstrating favorable impact on students was higher in 1983 than in 1982 for 20 of the 33 outcomes and at least double that in 1982 for 17 of those 20. There were only two outcomes for which the 1982 classes outperformed the 1983 classes. In short, observed improvement in quality of implementation of LRE classes was accompanied by measured improvement in their impact on students.*

Comparison between Highly Rated and Other LRE Classes in 1983

Enough 1983 classes received high ratings from observers to yield moderately sized subsets of classes judged to be superior on each of the three broad components of quality of implementation. The three subsets of superior classes were composed as follows:

- Quality of Curriculum Treatment—the 13 classes which observers rated high on both *depth and density* and *selection and balance*.
- Quality of Instruction—the nine classes which received high ratings on *stated objectives*, *checking for understanding*, **and** *direction-giving*.
- Quality of Interaction—the eight classes which observers rated high on at least three of these four dimensions: *active participation*, *suitable group work*, *reactive management*, *opportunities for bonding*.

For each component of quality of implementation, the subset of classes receiving superior observer ratings outperformed the remaining LRE classes. The most striking differences in impact between highest-rated and other classes pertain to **quality of instruction**. *Every* class judged superior in that regard produced favorable effects on 22 of the 30 outcomes, and the performance of those classes surpassed that of lower rated classes on 28 of the 30 outcomes. With respect to quality of curriculum treatment and quality of interaction, the favorable impact on students of the highest-rated classes surpassed that of other classes for 28 out of 30 outcomes and 22 out of 30 outcomes, respectively.

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*Similar improvement in both quality and impact appears to have occurred between 1981 and 1982, but changes from one year to the next in the dimensions measured preclude any but a gross comparison between the two years' classes.

As presented in this section, the results of three types of analysis point to quality of implementation as critical in realizing the potential of LRE to affect student attitudes and behavior in the direction of better citizenship. Classes which adhere to recommended instructional practices, curriculum treatment, and avenues for student interaction are likely to have favorable impact on students; those which do not are unlikely to have that impact. A notable exception appears to be gain in factual knowledge of the law and legal processes. Within the range exhibited by classes in this study, gradations in quality of implementation have made little or no difference in measured gains in knowledge by students. A plausible conclusion is that an average teacher without specialized training can increase students' factual knowledge by simply leading a class through an LRE textbook. The least successful classes studied (in terms of delinquency prevention) produced about as much knowledge gain among students as did the most successful ones.* Unlike the mere communication of facts to students, the strategies and other features that make an LRE course effective in improving citizenship require more than typical classroom skills. To reiterate, the crucial importance of quality of implementation is with respect to the capability of an LRE course to improve students' attitudes and behavior.

Teacher Training and Teaching Experience

Overview

The principal means used to improve quality of implementation has been to train teachers who implement LRE curricula. Over the course of the study, the evaluators have attempted to indicate areas in which the projects' training program could be strengthened in order to result in better implementation and greater impact of LRE on students' attitudes and behavior. Most of the training conducted in 1982 and 1983 conveyed familiarity with the text materials that particular sites had adopted, provided instruction in carrying out the recommendations that appear in Chapter 4 of this report, and included an explanation of the theoretical basis for expecting LRE to improve citizenship. Adequate attention to each of these areas is recommended for future training. The duration of training has ranged from two to four days, depending on teachers' prior experience and the arrangements for release time that national projects were able to negotiate with participating school districts.

In 1981, a number of untrained and inexperienced teachers participated in the impact study at a few of the sites. Those teachers' classes received low ratings from observers and were largely responsible for the mixed impact findings which revealed as many LRE classrooms showing predominantly negative effects as showed predominantly positive effects. Based on formative feedback from the evaluators, the curriculum projects redesigned their training programs the following year to focus more on six recommended areas of concern for enhanced implementation. In addition, the projects attempted to recruit more experienced teachers—those with a prior familiarity with LRE—into their programs. Both the impact findings and the observers' ratings in 1982 indicated improvements in the quality of implementation over 1981. Additional training innovations (as described later in this section) occurred in 1983. Just as the quality of implementation and proportion of classes demonstrating favorable impact on students increased year by year, so did the quality of the training that LRE teachers received.

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*A related finding comes from a study of the effects of LRE on fifth- and sixth-graders in suburban New York, conducted by Michael G. Jacobson and Stuart B. Palonsky (1981). Relative to control subjects, the experimental group displayed significant knowledge gains and attitude changes in the direction desired (no behavioral measures were included). There was virtually no association, however, between knowledge of legal concepts and positive attitudes. The authors conclude that the program was effective in improving both knowledge and attitudes, but that the students who learned the most about the law were not necessarily those who developed positive attitudes toward the law.

In two studies of the impact of LRE on high school students (in schools located in Arizona and Australia), researchers found that the courses produced significant knowledge gains but had little or no effect on attitudes. See Edward A. Nelson (1979) and Barry J. Fraser and David L. Smith (1980).

Effects of Teacher Training and Teaching Experience

The LRE evaluations conducted in 1981 and 1982 suggested that teachers who did not participate in project-sponsored training programs were neither as effective in the classroom (as measured both by classroom impact and observation) nor as satisfied with their experience teaching LRE (as noted in their questionnaire responses) as were the teachers who did participate in formal project training programs. For example, at one 1982 site the classes of the teacher who did not attend the three days of project training with any regularity or for any appreciable length of time did not compare favorably to the control classes at his school in terms of the impact on students' behavior or the impact on the theoretical antecedents of delinquent behavior. Conversely, the other teacher at this site did compare favorably with controls at his school in these areas. Similarly, the nontrained teacher was rated lower by the observer than the other teacher in certain aspects of quality of curriculum treatment, quality of instruction, and quality of interaction. These aspects—depth/density of coverage, checking for understanding, opportunities for practice, and achieving active participation—were all areas in which he would have received training had he attended the workshops held the preceding summer.

Teachers who have participated in training rate such training as being very useful to them in their subsequent attempts to implement LRE: 20 of 22 teachers participating in the 1982 study rated the formal training workshops as being "very useful" to them; the two teachers who rated these workshops as "somewhat useful" had only attended portions of their project's training program. Teachers in 1982 were unanimous about the degree of usefulness of training; all depicted it as "very useful" to them in their teaching.

Such high marks for usefulness apparently derive from the fact that project-sponsored training provides teachers with unique sources of information. Assistance in implementing several aspects of LRE instruction is, based on teachers' questionnaire responses, forthcoming solely or largely from project training sessions. For instance, methods for achieving high class participation, organizing small group work, and finding and developing examples which give a balanced view of the law were all cited by 60 percent or more of teachers as being areas in which project training sessions were their only form of assistance. Majorities—around 55 percent—of teachers further cited their training in LRE conducted by the national projects as their sole source of assistance in learning how best to discuss and manage controversial issues in the classroom, and in preparing outside resource people to contribute effectively to their LRE classes.

The level of prior LRE teaching experience—or minimally, the level of familiarity with LRE in general—also has an effect on what teachers get out of a training program. Teachers new to LRE register greater knowledge gains about project/program objective, rationales, methods, etc. than do "veteran" LRE teachers. An analysis of the 1982 training participants' gain in knowledge of program objectives, for instance, indicated that sites with fewer veteran LRE teachers and more novice teachers recorded higher average aggregate gain scores. Thus, this score for the North Carolina training group was 1.39; for the Los Angeles group, 1.13; for the Michigan group, .92; and for the Chicago group, .86. (A score of 1 indicates "movement" to a new discrete level of knowledge or expertise.) These scores accurately reflect the relative experience of the participating teachers at each site with regard to the CRF, LFS, and NICEL curricula.

For veteran teachers, the more important gains derived from project training programs are in the areas of confidence and "renewal." A number of teachers have commented on their training surveys and year-end questionnaires that attending training sessions such as those designed by the curriculum projects, as well as those sponsored by the ABA, renewed their enthusiasm for LRE and for teaching in general. In terms of confidence-building, one second-year CRF teacher summed it up best by noting that such programs "have built my confidence and reduced the fear I had my first year in the [LRE] classroom." Such "first-year fear" may be initially alleviated by having veteran teachers attend—or even conduct—training alongside teachers new to LRE. As another CRF teacher commented in her 1983 questionnaire: "It was very helpful to have someone here who has experienced these situations previously [in order] to get suggestions on lesson plans and to offer alternatives."

In 1983, the projects achieved a good mix of experienced LRE teachers and newly recruited LRE teachers to participate in their training programs. LFS invited three of their most effective teachers from 1982 (as measured by impact testing and observation standards) to join nine new teachers in their 1983 program. In Michigan, training participants were all experienced high school LRE teachers. Two of the three teachers were trained in NICEL's 1982 session and the third, along with one of the other two just mentioned, had also received LRE training from nonproject sources—through the University of Detroit and through the College of Education of Michigan State University. At NICEL's Colorado site, training participants included not only the teacher who participated in the 1982 study—who had received his training in Street Law at the ABA-sponsored 1982 Summer Institute—but also the four police officers who worked in this teacher's street Law classes as resource persons. These veterans were joined in 1983 by two more teachers from this junior high school and by another four police officers, and together they received joint training as instructional teams for the 1983 implementation year.*

CRF's North Carolina training program and the training program at NICEL's Colorado site were notably different from any others offered to date and merit closer attention. These two programs provided the evaluators with unique opportunities to examine effects of training programs on the subsequent quality of implementation. In the case of CRF's training, variable teaching and training experience provided the opportunities for comparison. In Colorado, the evaluators had the opportunity to gauge the effects of joint training for teachers and community resource persons. While law students had been included in the training program at one of NICEL's 1982 impact sites, the inclusion of a number of police officers in a teacher training program in 1983 was unique and was particularly interesting for the possible effects it could have on a number of the theoretically linked elements of law-abiding behavior (e.g., belief in the fairness of social rules and their enforcement, and positive labeling) around which much of the impact assessment of LRE was based.

1983 Training Innovations: North Carolina

CRF training in 1983 was innovative in its use of four teachers involved in the 1982 impact study as trainers for newly recruited teachers in 1983. Through this design, CRF was able to establish peer support for its participating teachers—a longstanding evaluation recommendation—at the outset. In 1982, only about half of all the LRE teachers at all impact sites had a colleague in their building who was also teaching LRE. Under CRF's 1983 program, three of their second-year teachers (who conducted the training sessions) would be paired in their buildings with a newly trained teacher, while the fourth teacher-trainer was paired in her building with another second-year teacher who had not participated in the 1983 training.

This approach set the stage for subsequent peer support within buildings and represents another improvement in the design of training programs for LRE teachers in 1983.

Assessment of effects of differential exposure to training and level of prior LRE teaching experience. The pairing of teachers in the same building during the implementation phase of the program in North Carolina provided the evaluators with an opportunity to assess more directly the differential effects on student impact and quality of implementation due to varying levels of teaching experience and training. Rather than compare student outcomes in LRE classes with those in control (non-LRE) classes, comparisons were made at this site between two LRE classes in each of the five schools. Comparisons of student impact were based on the same measures and analytical procedures as in the national impact study; however, here it was the effects of teachers' training and experience that were being measured rather than the effects of LRE.

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*Subsequent to 1983, this mushrooming pattern has continued (with support from formula grant funds obtained through the Colorado Division of Criminal Justice). In 1984, two more junior high schools in the same district were added to the program. Police and teachers who had taught the course through 1983 conducted training for those who had not taught the course before. In summer of 1985, the most experienced teachers and police from this program became trainers of law enforcement and school personnel from several other Colorado districts that were planning new LRE programs of their own.

In three schools the comparison was between an experienced LRE teacher—i.e., with at least one more year of LRE training and teaching experience—and a teacher with training but no prior LRE teaching experience. In another school, the comparison was between two teachers with the same amount of LRE teaching experience, but different exposures to training—one teacher served as a trainer in 1983, for which she received extra training, while the other had not participated in training since 1982.

Overall, there were fewer instances of significant differentials between the classes of more experience/trained teachers and those of less experienced/trained teachers than there were instances of uniform effect—i.e., no differential effects between the two types of teachers. However, of the 47 instances of significant differential impact on students, 37 (79 percent) favored the classes of the teachers with more experience and/or training.

The theory-based outcomes in which the more experience/trained teachers showed the greatest differential impact on their students were: (1) *peer relations of students*, where they surpassed the less experienced teachers in 40 percent (8/20) of the possible outcomes, having eight favorable comparisons and two unfavorable; and (2) *belief in the fairness of social rules*, where they surpassed the other teachers in 35 percent (7/20) of the possible outcomes, having seven favorable and two unfavorable. Differential impact was also in evidence with respect to outcomes not derived from the theoretical mode; i.e., knowledge gain, school/home links, and students' general ratings of their course and teacher. Here the more experienced/trained teachers surpassed the less experienced teachers in 45 percent (9/20) of the possible outcomes, having nine favorable comparisons and none unfavorable.

The less experienced/trained teachers, on the other hand, showed slightly greater impact on their students, as compared to the more experienced/trained teachers, in the areas of *positive labeling of students*, having had two favorable comparisons and one unfavorable; and on the dimensions of *equality of opportunity for students*, where they compared favorably in one instance and unfavorably in none, with just over eight percent (1/12) of all possible outcomes on this dimension being in their favor.

There was no differential impact on students on the dimension of *attachment*, and little differential impact—11 percent (5/44) favoring the more experienced teachers and 4.5 percent (2/44) favoring the less experienced teachers—on the frequencies of delinquent behavior of students at these four schools.

Moving to an examination of differential impact at the individual schools, we see that in two schools the differential effects were on the order of three to one (6 to 2, actually) and six to one (13 to 2, actually), respectively. On the other hand, the more experienced teacher's classes at a third school had only a slight differential advantage (seven to six) over those of the less experienced teacher. These classes may, therefore, be considered essentially the same in this regard. The test condition at these three schools paired veteran LRE teachers with novice teachers, with the former training the latter for three days about two months prior to implementation. The total differential effects in the veteran teachers' classes surpassed those in the novices' classes in these three schools by a ratio of better than two and one-half to one (26 to 10).

Results at the fourth school were most striking of all. In this case, the comparison was between two veteran teachers, one of whom had more training. This teacher also served as a trainer for the 1983 CRF training program; her colleague had not attended a training session since both these teachers' initial CRF training in the summer of 1982. Impact on students in the class taught by the teacher with more training was significantly more favorable on 11 outcomes and less favorable—i.e., more favorable for the teacher with less training—on none.

It seems even more curious that the novice teachers in three schools were able to achieve at least a few favorable effects in student impact vis-a-vis their more experienced colleagues, while the second veteran teacher at the fourth school could not. However, a positive explanation emerges when the *recentness* of training is considered. It may be noted that although the second teacher at the fourth school had taught LRE previously, she had not participated in LRE training since the summer of 1982. The novice teachers at the three other schools, on the other hand, had the apparent benefit of recent training and this might explain why they could have registered some differentially favorable impact. A possible implication is that not only more training, but more *recent* training can have a salutary effect, *regardless of the level of prior LRE teaching experience*, on subsequent classroom performance.*

A further implication may be drawn from the results obtained at the fourth school. It seems clear that the added training had a notable effect on this teacher's ability to have an impact on students; i.e., this teacher's confidence and sense of renewal were activated. It cannot be determined, however, whether this effect was due to training other teachers in LRE or simply to the fact of participating in more LRE training (in any capacity) just prior to another year of teaching LRE. In either case, the results may indicate that, rather than reaching a point of diminishing returns, training for veteran LRE teachers might have a "snowball" effect. More training just helps good teachers get better.

1983 Training Innovations: Colorado

Three days of LRE training at Reed Junior High School in Loveland, Colorado, were conducted by two master teachers from the school and an outside consultant.* The training drew on the school's repertoire of mastery teaching techniques, bonding theory and research, selected 1982 LRE evaluation findings, and the 1982 LRE experience at the school, which the aim of creating instructional teams of teachers and officers. These teams would integrate strategies for social bonding and cognitive learning into methods of classroom interaction around a law-related curriculum. The LRE curriculum was half of a year-long course, Law and Government, which incorporated a semester of Street Law in the law unit. The teacher who participated in the 1982 study (denoted as junior high teacher A in this report's Impact Findings section) had developed this course of study following his training at the 1982 ABA Summer Institute.

Joining this teacher for the 1983 training at Reed Junior High were two colleagues (teacher B and the control teacher for the 1983 impact study) and seven police officers—including a captain—of the Loveland Police Department. (An eighth officer, who could not attend the training, joined the instructional team of teacher B once the semester began and received on-the-job coaching.) The officers were divided into two teams; one would work with teacher A, the other with teacher B. Each team included two experienced LRE officers—i.e., those who had participated as resource persons in 1982—and two officers new to the program. The third teacher being trained would serve as a control (non-LRE) teacher during the first semester when the evaluation was being conducted, and then teach the LRE segment of the curriculum using one of the officer teams during the second semester. This teacher would employ only the mastery techniques in his control classes, serving to hold the quality of instruction constant. Thus, any differences between control and LRE classes would be attributable to the unique impact of LRE as a subject.

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*Other research suggests that the presence in their buildings of more experienced teachers with whom they could confer also was beneficial to the novice LRE teachers. At four sites in Texas, the effects of formal teacher training LRE workshops were compared with the effects of one-on-one "buddy" training, where a trained teacher worked closely with an untrained teacher. For comparison, a third group of teachers received neither type of training. The researchers found that knowledge of attitudes toward the law improved more for students taught by teachers in the two trained groups than for those taught by untrained teachers. There were no differences, however, between the first two groups: students of "buddy-trained" teachers improved as much as those of formally trained teachers. See Jon J. Denton and James B. Kracht (1976).

*A staff member of the Center for Action Research, though not a member of the evaluation project.

The training was intended to introduce the new officers to the program as well as to provide all the officers with more systematic instruction in interactive teaching strategies and methods. Although four of the officers had participated as resource persons previously, they had not received any LRE training. One day of this training program, therefore, was devoted to instructing the officers in the use of some of the same teaching practices used by the teachers. For example, stating specific learning objectives, checking for understanding, and providing ample "wait time" were examined as contributing both to cognitive learning and to bonding—particularly to attachment to teacher and school, positive labeling, and belief in the fairness of social rules and their enforcement.

Finally, the training explored the prospects for applying group/cooperative learning principles—student assignment to heterogeneous groups, reward and task interdependence, and assignment of and support for playing particular roles within groups—to more familiar LRE devices such as mock trials and case study analyses. For this purpose, NICEL supplied the trainers with a list of twenty specific exercises from *Street Law* which were believed to lend themselves well to such refinements.

(An account of the results of this unique approach to conducting LRE training and instruction appears in the section, "Impact on Students of Law-Related Education," of this chapter.)

Training for Resource People and Other Sources of Assistance

There may be hesitance in other localities to conduct joint training of teachers and law enforcement officials and to obtain the necessary cooperation of law enforcement departments. However, the experience in Loveland, Colorado, proves that such training can be done and done effectively.

There is also a noteworthy example, from 1982, of LRE training for law enforcement officers alone. In this case, PAD sponsored a day of training for Michigan state troopers as LRE classroom resource persons. The trainer, director of the St. Louis Schools LRE project, was also the author of the PAD publication, "A Manual for Training Community Resource Personnel."

In addition to actual training, both PAD and ABA have published a number of how-to manuals for the express purpose of bringing educators and legal resource people together. Two of the more recent examples are the ABA's *Building Bridges to the Law* (1981) and PAD's "Resource Guide to Assist Lawyers and Law Students for Participating in Kindergarten through Eighth Grade Law-Related Classrooms" (1981). PAD's partnership programs are also vehicles for establishing liaison, at the district level, between educators and legal professionals. This liaison may be taken a step further when such partnership teams attend LRE conferences and workshops, as has been the case at ABA-sponsored summer institutes in San Antonio, Texas, in 1980 and at Evanston, Illinois, in 1981 and 1982.

The support ABA and PAD provide to LRE teachers is exactly the sort which helps to fill the gaps in the curriculum projects' programmatic efforts. In their more usual support role alluded to above, these two projects can mobilize legal professionals who most often serve as classroom resource people. In both 1982 and 1983, LRE teachers have noted in their questionnaire responses that locating and arranging for visits by outside resource people has *not* been an area in which they rely upon their CRF, LFS, or NICEL training to assist them. The majority of teachers noted their reliance on two sources of assistance in this regard: state and local projects, and "interested individuals, such as attorneys, judges, social service providers." Such individuals are the natural constituencies of ABA and PAD through their contacts in and influence with state and local bar associations and law schools.

Summary

Training for teachers who will be teaching LRE is a prerequisite for effective implementation of LRE. Training, as well as greater experience with teaching LRE, can have notable impact on students' attitudes and acts. Experienced LRE teachers benefit from more training not only in terms of knowledge gains, but also in ways which build their confidence and renew their commitment to and enthusiasm for

LRE and teaching. And these gains are reflected in classroom outcomes. In short, training can help good teachers get better, and the more recent the training exposure, the better.

LRE training is available from a variety of sources. The national curriculum projects conduct training programs for teachers at their impact sites as well as at state, regional, and national conferences/institutes such as those sponsored by the ABA's law-related education project. LRE teacher training is also available from local universities, as in Michigan.

A number of law schools continue to train law students in the *Street Law* curriculum, and training for other community resource people, such as law enforcement officers, has been shown to be both feasible and effective. Joint training of teachers and law officers is one of the more promising and exciting prospects for enhancing the effectiveness of LRE.

Finally, the use of experienced LRE teachers as local teacher-trainers has been shown to have salutary effects on both the quality of the training program and on the subsequent quality of the implementation of the curriculum in the school.

Institutionalization

Besides assessment of the impact of LRE, the quality of its implementation, and the training provided, an additional area of concern was to determine the processes required to assure that appropriate LRE instruction becomes an institutionalized component in the general education curriculum.

Institutionalization of LRE requires that the content of the program and the features that make it effective in improving citizenship become a well established, structured part of the curriculum, accepted by all involved. These include students, parents, teachers, administrators, community members, and policy makers. Regardless of level (school, district, county, state), to be institutionalized the program must be self-perpetuating in the sense that it will continue regardless of who the policy makers are, what the building looks like, how the grade levels are grouped, or how the community changes.

The restructuring or changing of institutional practices at both the building and district levels is critical in achieving institutionalization of LRE. Some institutional change in the short run can take place at the building level if certain conditions are met. It cannot be assumed, however, that change can be permanently maintained until supporting decisions are made at the policy-making level—the school district. In some states, where there is considerable central decision-making authority, institutionalization cannot take place without the appropriate state-level policy-making decisions to support the change.

The kinds of supporting structures that can be put together at the state level include legislative mandates and/or state department of public instruction curriculum guidelines, competency testing, inclusion of appropriate textbooks on adoption lists, LRE certification requirements for teachers, curriculum specialists at the state department of education, supportive advisory/influence groups composed of notables from several societal sectors, and a statewide LRE project independent of formal department of public instruction ties.

Year Three Indicators of Institutionalization Efforts

In varying degrees all five of the major organizations involved in LRE (ABA, CRF, LFS, NICEL, PAD) made substantial contributions to institutionalization of LRE in three of the states—North Carolina, Michigan, and California—in the impact study. Below is a summary listing of some of the projects' institutionalization efforts. These are merely illustrative of numerous efforts by the five organizations.

- American Bar Association sponsorship of state bar association leadership seminars in Michigan, North Carolina, and California.
- Contributions of funds by PAD to the Michigan LRE project, enabling that project to receive other sources of funding which brought the state LRE project budget to $60,000.
- ABA sponsorship of an LRE leadership seminar in conjunction with the National Council for the Social Studies annual conference directed to numerous leadership persons in the field of social studies.

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- PAD provision of matching funds used in North Carolina to assist with implementation of the Department of Public Instruction five-year plan for institutionalization of LRE.
- In North Carolina, LRE is no longer treated as an experimental program; it is a required part of the curriculum, subject to competency testing.
- Through the efforts of CRF, LFS, and NICEL, the inclusion of LRE objectives in the History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools.
- Through the efforts of CRF, LFS, and NICEL, extensive work with ten key leadership persons in ten major California county service units.
- PAD invitations to members of its chapters to become involved in the 1984 California statewide mock trial competition.
- Through the efforts of LFS and CRF, the inclusion of LRE test items in the California Assessment Program (CAP) eighth-grade test.
- A resolution by the California State Board of Education recognizing LFS, CRF, and NICEL for law-related education "seminal contributions."

Briefly stated, the contributions of the five major organizations cannot go unnoticed when institutionalization of LRE is examined. These organizations have large networks of resources that can be made available to state and local education agencies. In addition, the organizations have seasoned staffs that can deliver a variety of LRE services.

Institutionalization of LRE at the Local Level

Practitioners reading this document will be most interested in the factors which need to be considered as they think about institutionalization of LRE at the local level. The evaluation staff initially identified 32 indicators of local level institutionalization. From this list, seven factors were identified as critical to institutionalization of LRE.

As a backdrop to this section, four conditions of permanence (institutionalization) are identified: (1) the practice is accepted as an approved routine in the school by administration, faculty, students, parents... and the school board; (2) money and time are allocated so as to support the practice; (3) new members of the staff and administration are well enough socialized into the "culture" of the practice to sustain it over time; (4) the practice is promoted, and defended if necessary, in terms of compelling values held by many in the school and community.

1. *There is a clear, concrete agreement on exactly what the practice of LRE entails.* This is particularly true where "concrete" refers to a set of materials, course outlines, and lesson plans explicating the practice of LRE. This agreement creates the context through which the remaining factors of administrator support, multiple trained teachers, curricular congruence, availability of materials, use of resource persons, and documentation of program effects obtain their significance.

2. *Administrators actively support LRE by providing LRE teachers with encouragement and professional assistance, approval for programmatic activities, and administrators.* Support by an administrator may be characterized as active, entailing the application of personal professional resources, or passive, entailing mere permission for teachers to engage in programmatic activities. The former is likely to lead to instructional practice which is both of high quality *and* enduring. The latter arguably will be able to claim only practice which is of high quality (based solely on the training and expertise of the LRE teachers). Active support by an administrator can help to make an instructional practice a matter of school policy. This enhances the prospects for cooperative instructional improvement. Passive support is likely to fall short of achieving a collegial approach to instructional improvement and is not likely to engender a higher level of organizational accountability.

LRE creates a greater-than-average demand—relative to other elementary and high school courses—for utilization of outside resource people as well as for field trips. An administrator's active support for a program can facilitate scheduling such events in a number of ways. These include not only providing formal approval of them, but cooperating in scheduling class periods so as to maximize the potential for participation by outside professionals (e.g., first thing in the morning or just before lunch); conducting negotiations with, and perhaps preparation of, suitable outsiders as resource persons; and by assisting the LRE teacher in obtaining backup instruction for colleagues for other classes while on a field trip with the LRE class.

An administrator can facilitate professional peer support for LRE teachers. Perhaps more importantly, such support can have an impact on the social relations in the LRE classroom. This prospect is enhanced by an administrator who sees to it that there is a good mix of students available to LRE classes and that school policies are perceived as fair, predictable, necessary, and viable. The cooperation of administrators should affect the relationships between school governance and what is taught about justice in LRE classrooms. This would lessen any contrast which might undermine students' belief in the moral validity of rules, as well as their attachment to school personnel.

Active administrator support is perhaps the most important factor for institutionalizing the practice of LRE in a school since it touches on the remaining factors. An active administrator would play a role in recruiting more teachers into a program, insuring congruence between program practices and the wider curriculum, identifying and obtaining outside resource persons for the program, insuring the availability of LRE materials, and helping to document the known effects of the program.

3. *There is more than one teacher trained and teaching LRE in the school.* Simply stated, the more people doing something, the better the chances of it being entrenched and, therefore, routinized. It is more likely that time and money will be allocated to LRE instruction if there are a number of teachers involved in it. The maintenance of the practice will be better accomplished through the work of a number of culture-bearers rather than through the efforts of a solitary heroic figure. It must also be noted that teachers teach one another the practice of teaching. With a number of teachers teaching LRE, the opportunities for discussion of classroom practice, mutual observation and critique, shared preparation, and shared participation in instructional improvement are greatly multiplied. Not only will this strengthen the program from an instructional standpoint, it will also benefit the school by making maximum use of its own resources.

An important consequence of having multiple teachers is the availability of and shared expectation for professional peer support. Besides diminishing an individual instructor's sense of isolation, involving a number of teachers in the program will help teachers of other subjects understand the strategies and techniques of LRE. Such awareness can reduce the likelihood of resentment for the occasional "commotion" emanating from the LRE classroom, as well as the likelihood of reacting negatively to students who have difficulty "simmering down" in their next class.

4. *There is congruence between strategies and techniques used in teaching LRE and a school's attitude and emphasis throughout its curriculum toward innovative and relevant courses.* In order for them to be regarded as routine, it is important that curricular activities and principles of LRE mesh well with those generally present in the school. In a school where the norms of quality instruction do not include involving students in topics with immediate relevance to their lives outside of school—and in a very dynamic way—the practice of LRE will not long be sustained. Administrative support is likely to be passive at best, and collegial support will be hard to obtain. Indeed, LRE students in such a school are liable to be labeled troublemakers. Rather than peer support, an LRE teacher is likely to feel peer pressure to control his/her students. On the other hand, in a school which rewards the teaching of courses having immediate relevance to worldly matters and values highly active students, LRE has much greater prospects for permanence.

Another relevant aspect of congruence between instructional practice and school structure concerns the principles of justice articulated in an LRE class and the policies of governance enforced in a school. This appears important to institutionalizing LRE as a practice only in the extremes, that is, either where there is no congruence between lessons on justice in the classroom and experiences with school rules in general, or conversely, where such congruence has the potential for synergistic or symbiotic effects (e.g., creating a student court).

5. *Participating teachers and/or administrators will identify and obtain suitable outside resource persons for LRE classes.* Teachers and administra-

tors involved in LRE must expect to use outside resource people in their schools. This practice increases the value of the program. Ease in utilizing resource people requires creating and maintaining shared expectations about the way the school operates and who will play what role in fulfilling such expectations, since direct negotiation and adequate preparation of such outsiders is necessary to insure their suitability. (Suitability is defined here as an ability to interact with students while presenting appropriate topics for discussion from a position of relevant expertise.)

6. *LRE instructional materials are available to all LRE students.* Without curriculum materials, even well-trained teachers cannot be expected to deliver the full beneficial impact of LRE to their students. Moreover, students may tend to devalue, or perceive that the school devalues, LRE if they are allowed little or no access to LRE materials. The practice of LRE will not be perceived as routine if access to textbooks is limited to class time, or if sharing texts is necessary, or if texts and collateral materials are wholly unavailable.

7. *Participating teachers and administrators can document the known effects of an LRE program.* In terms of the conditions of permanence, the promotion and defense of the program in terms of compelling values and the allocation of time and money in support of the practice are the conditions most related to the factor of documenting known program effects. That is, without the ability to document the effects of LRE practice, one can expect the fulfillment of the conditions of permanence to be adversely affected.

Recruitment of additional teachers for the program is enhanced by the ability to document its effects on academic achievement and classroom climate. A program which is popular among students and demonstrates favorable effects on their behavior and on their attitude toward the law and rules in general, stands an improved chance of receiving administrative support through adequate budgetary and time allocations for program staff and activities. Parental support for the curriculum may be documented since data indicate that students do communicate what they've learned in LRE class to their parents and parents do favorably comment to school personnel about the effects of LRE on their daughters and sons. The LRE program can also promote itself through its ability to document the willingness of community resource persons to become involved in the school.

4. Recommendations for Improved Implementation of LRE as a Delinquency Prevention Strategy

Law-related content by itself does not improve student attitudes, build good citizenship, or reduce delinquency; but it is a convenient and effective hook upon which to hang a set of features that have the power to achieve those important objectives. Every LRE class in the study improved students' factual knowledge of the law; the classes that were least effective in terms of delinquency prevention produced about as much knowledge gain among students as did those that were most effective.

The features that have distinguished more effective LRE classes from the rest are the subject of this chapter. The general recommendation is for training of teachers, building administrators, and resource persons designed to assure that those features become prominent parts of future LRE programs.

The recommended features fall into six categories: adequate preparation and use of outside resource persons, quality and quantity of instruction, judicious selection and presentation of illustrative material, strategies for affecting friendship choices through student interaction, opportunities for professional peer support for teachers, and involvement of building administrators. Some of these features (notably those in the second and fourth categories) could be recommended for improving many courses, not just LRE; many appear to be more critical for LRE than for other subjects. When combined with LRE content, all the recommended features—including those that simply constitute good teaching—have been identified as contributing to favorable impact on the behavioral and behavior-related dimensions measured in this study.

As noted at several points in this report, the LRE classes evaluated from 1981 to 1983 were uneven both in quality and in the number and magnitude of favorable outcomes obtained. Twenty of the 61 classes in the main study appear dramatically superior to other classes in each year of the research in terms of their favorable outcomes. Those 20 include 6 high school classes (3 teachers), 13 junior high classes (3 teachers), and one elementary class. Two come from the 1981 study, 6 from the 1982 study, and 12 from the 1983 study. These classes are located in the states of California, Colorado, Michigan, and North Carolina. Besides producing extremely favorable student outcomes, the 20 classes as a group are exemplary of the recommendations that follow; they are the source of the positive illustrations that appear in the following account of recommended features.

Adequate Preparation and Use of Outside Resource Persons

In every year of the study, the most effective LRE classes were the ones that made the most frequent use of outside resource persons. More specifically, correlational analysis between practices and outcomes shows appropriate use of visitors in LRE classrooms to be more strongly associated with increased student attachment to teacher and school and with shifts from delinquent to nondelinquent peer associations than any other classroom practice or event.

Of the 20 classes identified as outstanding on the basis of their impact on students, 16 made relatively frequent use of outside resource persons in the classroom. In two classes, at least one police officer was present virtually every day of the semester and an attorney was also present occasionally. In 12 classes, a police officer was in the classroom 3 days a week. The teachers of two other classes brought in varied resource persons (e.g., attorney, judge, police officer, consumer advocate, representative of local government) almost once a week. The remaining four classes in this group were located in a school across the street from the county courthouse; although in-class visits from resource persons were relatively infrequent (averaging twice a semester), students in these classes spent several full days witnessing actual criminal and civil trials. An optional assignment in two of the classes was to interview the judge following a court visit.

In a few instances, visitors have proved less than beneficial. They have come ill prepared, covered material having no apparent bearing on the course, or used a straight lecture format. In one 1983 high school class, a visiting attorney presented a less than balanced account of the violation of one of her client's constitutional rights during his trial in a local district court. While it was apparent in both the attorney's presentation of the facts and local media accounts that the defendant's rights had been violated by the prosecution during his trial, neither the attorney nor the LRE teacher made any attempt to point out just how the system should work. Thus, students were left with the notion that defendants are likely to face this form of "justice" in this locality's district courts.

Five guidelines are offered for realizing optimal benefit from the expertise and community standing of professionals who are not trained as teachers. The following is a statement of each guideline, accompanied by an illustrative account of the way in which it was put into practice in nine classes at one junior high school in the 1983 study. The accounts are based on evaluators' observations of training and classrooms.

First, visitors should receive advance preparation not only in fitting their content into the course as a whole, but in effective interactive teaching strategies—specifically in techniques for reaching the whole class, not just a few particularly receptive students.

> Seven of the eight participating officers attended a three-day joint training session with the regular teachers. The training included methods for engaging students in discussion and checking for their understanding of the material covered, lesson plan development, and proactive classroom management. During observations of several consecutive class periods, an evaluator observed the teacher giving feedback at the end of each period to the participating police officer who had been unable to attend training. By the last class of the day, the officer

> had responded to this coaching by (1) expanding his role from that of "guest" to that of instructor in charge of the entire class from start to finish, (2) moving about the room continually to sustain the interest of all students, (3) addressing every student by name (with the aid of a palmed, miniature seating chart), and (4) thoroughly checking for student understanding of important points.

Second, topics covered by outside resource persons should be relevant to the rest of the course and properly timed for a good fit with the sequence of material presented.

> Teachers worked jointly with their respective teams of officers to develop and order lessons. Typically, the teacher would introduce a topic generally, then an officer would cover key aspects of the topic in depth—often relating them to his or her firsthand experience. Occasionally, an unexpected court appearance or extra shift assignment would force postponement of an officer's presentation until several days after the teacher's introduction. When such a delay occurred, the teacher reestablished the students' mental set just prior to the presentation by the officer.

Third, the principal mode of visitors' in-class activity should be interaction with the students.

> Whether presenting to the whole class or working with small groups, officers usually succeeded in engaging students in dialogue. A teacher and officer sometimes worked together ahead of time to minimize the need for straight lecture around particular topics. In most observed instances of officers' use of a lecture format, the information conveyed was relatively technical, e.g., fingerprint identification and methods for becoming a better witness.

Fourth, visitors should present a balanced picture of parts of the system that they know, neither claiming infallibility nor unduly emphasizing "horror stories."

> Although officers occasionally referred to suspects as "bandits," their dominant theme was that their actions and those of the judiciary reflected the dual concern of preserving individual rights and protecting society. This theme was particularly evident in discussions of search and seizure, conditions for setting bond, and the exclusionary rule. Officers acknowledged that occasionally they were guilty of abuse of individual rights, but pointed out that subsequent judicial actions were likely to correct such errors. In one day's classes, an officer used a controversial murder case to illustrate this point. A poll of students showed that all of them believed the suspect to be guilty of murder, yet the charges against him had just been reduced because of the means used to obtain the evidence. In discussion with the students, the officer made the point that this was an example of the system working as it should: there are rules by which evidence may be gathered and entered into a criminal proceeding; when these are violated, it may take an unpopular court decision to protect an individual's rights.

Fifth, students should receive preparation before a visit made by an outside resource person to maximize their thoughtful participation when the visitor is present.

> The usual sequence was for the regular teacher to introduce a topic before the officer covered it. When an officer began a presentation, students typically had a general familiarity with the topic and (from their textbook) had learned many of the terms pertaining to that topic.

Quality and Quantity of Instruction

The recommendations in this category are for practices associated with good teaching in general: use of these practices in any course ought to improve learning of whatever material is presented. The reason for including them in this report is that they appear to contribute not only to the achievement of purely educational objectives, but (at least in the

LRE classes studied) to improvements in student behavior and attitudes toward teachers and school.

Check for Understanding and Provide Ample Opportunities for Practice

Eighteen of the 20 classes that produced superior outcomes received high ratings from observers on opportunities for students to practice and demonstrate a command of one topic or aspect before moving on to the next. The teachers of these classes avoided perfunctory checks ("Unless there are any questions, we'll go to the next lesson"), called on all students (hands raised or not) to respond to review questions, and made sure that virtually all in a class understood a lesson without appearing to repeat the same material endlessly. They also gave students ample opportunities to practice material already covered.

> In 12 junior high classes, hand signals were used when appropriate to speed review of factual material (e.g., with all students putting thumbs up or down to respond to true-false questions). In three high school classes and the one elementary class in this group, review questioning often required each student in rapid succession to amplify or modify a previous student's response. In two other high school classes, one technique for review was to require students to compose their own questions on material already covered; the teacher had familiarized the students with Bloom's taxonomy and graded them partly on the level of questions they were able to ask.
>
> Five-minute quizzes were typical forms of practice; in many classes, these occurred at the start of nearly every session. In two high school classes, students were assigned periodically to "peer teach" law-related content at a nearby junior high school. In the elementary class, students often practiced and demonstrated competency by making up examples to illustrate material just covered.

State Objectives and Establish a Mental Set

In sharp contrast to most classes in the study, explicit statements of learning objectives for the day occurred regularly in 17 of the 20 classes that produced outstanding outcomes. These teachers began nearly every class by calling students' attention to a set of expected learning outcomes written on the board and frequently read these aloud. In the vast majority of the 41 classes not in the outstanding group, teachers told the observers before class what the objectives were, but did not convey this information to the students. Typically, task directions alone were used in those classes; students usually were told ***what*** to do, but had to figure out for themselves why they were doing it.*

Provide Sufficient Quantity of Instruction and Depth and Density Appropriate to the Material Covered

Like all but a few high school and junior high classes in the study, those in the outstanding group of 20 were semester-long LRE courses (so are not distinguished on this count). The elementary class in this group had ten weeks of LRE (completing the LFS Authority and Justice units); about half of the remaining elementary classes in the study had this much or nearly this much LRE instruction. What does set the top group apart is the use made of the time available; all 20 classes received high ratings from observers on depth and density (which includes suitable sequencing and pacing and amount of time spent on given topics).

Teachers of these classes brought in supplementary materials and visitors with expertise to amplify topics that merited detailed attention and encouraged

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*Checking for understanding and stating learning objective are critical elements of mastery learning. Benjamin Bloom (1984) reports several studies showing that students taught by mastery learning strategies outperform those taught through conventional means by as much as one full standard deviation (putting mastery students in the 84th percentile relative to students taught conventionally). In contrast, Robert E. Slavin and Nancy L. Karweit (1984) report from their own research that students taught through mastery learning strategies performed no better than students in their control classes. *A key difference in this latter research is that stated learning objectives and checking for understanding occurred in the control classes, as well as the experimental (mastery) classes.*

student debate around important issues only after making certain that those in the class understood the facts involved. They did not allow reactive management, lengthy joking, extended housekeeping, or superfluous examples to take time off task. They used films sparingly and began mock trials only after the students had a fundamental understanding of the procedures and topics involved. In most observed periods, students were on task within one minute of the starting bell.

Judicious Selection and Presentation of Illustrative Material and Management of Controversy

Disregarding the other recommendations for classroom practices may merely reduce the prospects that an LRE class will improve student attitudes and behavior. A possible consequence of disregarding what follows is a *worsening* of student attitudes and behavior.

One way to keep students' attention is to shock them with repeated accounts of abuses perpetrated in the name of the law. One way to make students feel good is to reinforce their anti-establishment preconceptions. In the few observed classes that produced predominantly *unfavorable* effects on student attitudes and behavior, the weight of illustrative material presented depicted laws as unfair, police as brutal, judges as whimsical, and justice as too costly for poor people to obtain. Student debates of controversial legal issues were as likely to reach a conclusion that the system was unfair as a conclusion that it was fair.

Teachers of the most effective classes were not unrelenting defenders of the status quo, either. On important issues, however, discussion and debate around illustrative cases usually left students persuaded that existing laws and enforcement and judicial procedures were mostly necessary and just. When contrary conclusions occurred, students learned that the legal system has built-in safeguards and provisions for self-correction.

> In 3 of the outstanding 20 classes, student discussion led to a conclusion (with the teacher's blessing) that there were more reasons for eliminating laws against prostitution than for keeping them on the books. In two classes, students reached a similar conclusion regarding homosexual marriages. In five classes, the teacher spoke against the system by calling capital punishment "murder by the state." In four classes, students received a one-sided presentation in favor of gun control legislation.
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> By design or simply through a need to express their convictions, teachers of those classes had gained credibility by demonstrating their willingness to entertain nonestablishment points of view. They had given students reason to believe that their function was not to preach blind obedience to the system.
>
> Nevertheless, the side of law and justice had a clear advantage in most presentations and student discussions in those same classes. In every class, students received explicit instruction in sorting reason from rhetoric and emotion and in responding *rationally* to arguments by others. Through role playing and interaction with law enforcement and justice professionals, students learned the dilemmas faced by those who must make decisions in carrying out the rules. Through hypothetical dramatizations, students came to see the probably dismal consequences of suspending certain rules.
>
> Only rarely did the teachers resort to heavy-handedness to defend the system, e.g., by reinforcing lavishly a student's comment about shoplifting that "If I do it, it's a reflection on my mother for not teaching me the proper values."

The recommendation here parallels one of the guidelines offered for outside resource persons, namely, that the system be depicted neither as infallible nor as a nightmare. To reduce the risk that students will generalize from one seemingly unjust instance to an entire body of rules, teachers are urged to emphasize legitimate remedies for unjust laws and, where feasible, to obtain the views of outside resource persons.

In student debates of controversial legal issues, outcomes conducive to favorable attitudes appear most likely where (1) the topic chosen for debate generates strong initial differences of opinion among students, (2) the teacher and/or visitor, through preparation and rehearsal, comes to class able to anticipate the arguments and counterarguments that students are likely to voice, (3) students are required to back any view they express with reasons and are encouraged to respond to reasons voiced by other students, and (4) where necessary, the teacher uses probing questions to help individual students recognize and confront inconsistencies in their reasoning.

Active Participation and Student Interaction

Built into many LRE text materials are opportunities for small group work. In the classes studied, appropriate group exercises repeatedly have proved useful in generating student enthusiasm and improving student views of interaction in the classroom. Participation in mock trials in particular has the potential as well to inform students about the workings of the justice system and (based on limited evidence collected only in 1983) to improve their attitudes toward judges. The tradeoff is that overuse of such exercises in some classes has taken substantial time away from other activities capable of producing a broader range of outcomes. One recommendation is to use group work only for lessons especially suited to it and never simply because students like it.

A second recommendation is to escalate the potential behavior-related effects of group work by adding elements shown by other research to have lasting effects on friendship choices. Neither the justification for this recommendation nor evidence that it may work comes from the present evaluation, *because no teacher in the LRE study has ever tried it fully*. The elements identified in other studies as critical are a deliberate mix of abilities of students who form groups, task interdependence (work that cannot be completed except through contributions of all group members), and reward interdependence (a grade or other reward based on group, rather than individual, performance) (Slavin, 1980). Among the 20 outstanding classes, task interdependence has been a regular feature of mock trials and a few other group exercises. In four classes, the teachers have handpicked the members of some groups to assure a mix in ability levels; in the rest, the usual procedure is simply to have students count off to determine their group assignment. In only one observed mock trial have students' grades been based, in part, on the preparation and performance of each of the teams, and this was atypical even for that teacher.

Mock trials appear almost ready-made for the aforementioned three critical elements that in combination have promise for affecting peer relationships. This is a dimension that even the more successful LRE classes in the study have failed to affect substantially.

Involvement of Building Administrators

Throughout the study, effective LRE classes have appeared to require strong in-building administrative support, at least in the form of providing classroom resources, facilitating field trips, and dealing with concerns voiced by other teachers or members of the community. This level of support was present in all 5 schools containing the outstanding 20 classes. At 2 of the schools (containing 14 classes) support from building administrators included direct instructional leadership for the LRE classes—observation and feedback to the teachers, help in developing course materials, and intense work in arranging for outside resource people.

Where minimal support was missing, building administrators have undermined the effectiveness of LRE classes in the study in at least two ways: by chastising the teacher for permitting loud discussion among students and by loading an LRE class with disproportionate numbers of known troublemakers (as confirmed by questionnaire responses at the start of the semester). Cooperation from a building administrator can also help narrow the possible gap between school governance policies and what is taught about justice in LRE classes. Joint effort between the assistant principal and the teacher of three of the top high school classes resulted in revision of the school bylaws to allow a student court, at which LRE students served as attorneys in disciplinary cases.

The recommendation here is for an understanding of LRE and at least moderate support for it on the part of building administrators, accompanied, where feasible, by instructional leadership.

Professional Peer Support for Teachers

Teachers called upon to be innovative in the midst of others pursuing a more conventional path are likely to require greater support than usual from peers, preferably others teaching LRE in the same building or district. Fifteen of the top 20 classes were taught by teachers who had colleagues teaching that subject in the same building. The teacher of two of the remaining classes had worked closely with a fellow LRE teacher in the same building the year before. The teacher of two other classes was in one of the two schools with highly active administrator involvement and worked with a police sergeant who served as coinstructor throughout the semester. The teacher of the 20th class received no special support within her building, but maintained close contact with the district social studies supervisor (who had a particular interest in LRE).

The recommendation is for professional support from within an LRE teacher's building when possible and otherwise from others in the same district (even if it takes project-sponsored social functions to bring them together).

Where course objectives include improvement of students' behavior, attitudes, and perceptions, all six categories of recommendations merit serious attention. Where objectives are only to impart knowledge of the law without harmful side effects, two of the categories still appear critical; these are the ones pertaining to judicious selection and presentation of illustrative material and involvement of administrators. In addition three of the features recommended for making LRE an effective delinquency prevention strategy corresponded to factors described in Chapter 3 as conducive to local level institutionalization of LRE. They are active administrative support, the use of outside resource persons, and multiple teachers trained and teaching LRE in the same school.

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An Evaluation of Law-Related Education: Implications for Teaching*

by Mary Jane Turner
1984

Introduction

This article reports on a series of recommendations for improving and/or changing educational practice in order to prevent or reduce deviant behavior among juveniles. The recommendations are derived from a four-year national quantitative and qualitative evaluation of law-related education programs undertaken by the Social Science Education Consortium, Inc., and the Center for Action Research.

The Relationship of Law-Related Education and Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency

There are an array of delinquency prevention theories—control, strain, and labeling—that suggest that there are at least six behavior-related factors that must be affected if we are to prevent or reduce delinquency among young people. A seventh powerful factor—association with non-delinquent peers—seems to be indirectly associated with the first six and directly related to the use of several law-related education teaching strategies.

What do these research-based theories have to do with those of us who toil in the garden of social studies or youth services? Or stated more simply, is there anything here that recommends itself to our attention? As teachers and other helping professionals, we certainly want students ***to know*** something, ***to be able to do*** something, and ***to feel*** one way or the other about something when they complete our courses of study. Some of us also want to prepare students who are willing to put the cognitive, skill, and affective components of instruction together in order ***to do*** something or participate.

If, however, we wish to provide instruction that also will reduce or prevent delinquency, it appears we must expand these traditional objectives to include those that will affect delinquency-producing behavior. First of all, we must want our students ***to attach*** to and admire adult positive role models in the society; ***to become so committed*** to conventional activities they hesitate to break rules; ***to be involved*** and invest time and energy in conventional activities; ***to believe rules and laws have validity*** and are important in maintaining an orderly society; and ***to associate*** with non-delinquent peers. In addition, we must provide students with greater equality of opportunity for getting good grades and classroom rewards and attach positive rather than negative labels to them.

None of these objectives, of course, are antithetical to achieving traditional educational objectives. On the contrary, there is considerable empirical evidence—and more is being surfaced each day—that objectives of this kind also have a salutary effort on the achievement of the more traditional ones. The question, then, becomes how well can law-related education (LRE) with a particular content focus and set of interactive strategies achieve the objectives that relate to delinquency prevention? We will look both at the strategies and recommended pedagogical techniques and the content.

In a very general sense, law-related education appears to be particularly well suited to favorably affecting all of the behavior-related factors described above. LRE, for example, provides opportunities for building attachment, not only to representatives of the school, but to law enforcement and justice system personnel as well. In terms of commitment, students in the evaluation study reported valuing LRE more highly than most other

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classes. Because the subject matter connects especially well to the world outside the school and engages students in a potentially significant learning experience, LRE appears to increase involvement in conventional activities. Because it conveys an understanding of the basis and necessity for rules and law, LRE seems to create a foundation for heightened belief in the validity of social rules.

Law-related education strategies are designed in part to offer all students opportunities to participate actively and excel; a consequence is greater equality of opportunity and greater probability of positive labeling. Many of the strategies feature cooperative tasks that appear capable of affecting peer choices directly.

Unfortunately, although evaluation findings support these general propositions, they indicate as well that when law-related instruction does not incorporate several critical features, there may be no measurable effect or even a worsening of students' behavior. This can occur even in classes where students show gains in their knowledge about law. In sum, it is only when certain features—(1) adequate preparation and use of outside resource persons in the classroom, (2) provision of sufficient quantity of instruction, (3) judicious selection and balance of illustrative cases, (4) teaching strategies that foster true student interaction and thus affect friendship choices, (5) availability and use by teachers of professional peer support, and (6) involvement of building administration—are incorporated into law-related education programs that we find positive improvements in behavior.

Four of these features are related directly and specifically to classroom implementation. Two others are related to organization of the school. Each of these will be discussed below.

Adequate Preparation and Use of Outside Resource Persons in the Classroom

Evaluation data indicate that appropriate use of visitors in LRE classes is more strongly associated with increased student attachment to teachers and the school and with shifts from delinquent to nondelinquent peer associations than is any other classroom practice or event. These findings cannot be taken to mean that every resource person or every instructional approach will achieve these desirable objectives, however. Classroom observations indicate that in order for resource persons to be effective:

1. Visitors should receive advance preparation not only in fitting their content into the course as a whole, but in effective interactive teaching strategies—especially, in techniques for reaching the whole class, not just a few particularly receptive students.

2. Topics covered by outside resource persons must be relevant to the rest of the course and properly timed for a good fit with the sequence of material presented.

3. The principal mode of a visitors' in-class activity should be interaction with the students.

4. Visitors should present a balanced picture of the part of the system they know, neither claiming infallibility nor unduly emphasizing "horror stories" (see "Judicious Selection and Presentation" below).

5. Before a visit by an outside resource person, students should receive preparation to maximize their thoughtful participation when the visitor is present (e.g., having each student come in with a list of questions for possible use on the day of the visit).

Provision of Sufficient Quantity and Quality of Instruction

The question of how much LRE instruction is necessary in order to achieve optimal impact in terms of behavior change is still open to speculation. Evaluation findings do suggest that while weekly or biweekly instruction may increase knowledge, it will not change other behaviors. At a minimum there must be at least a semester of instruction or careful integration of LRE content and strategies into year-long courses.

Three aspects related to quality of instruction appear to correlate well with student attachment to teachers and the school, commitment, improvement in behavior, and increases in knowledge gains. These are: (1) checking for practice and understanding, (2) stating objectives and establishing a mental set, and (3) providing appropriate depth and density of coverage.

Effective teachers can be neither perfunctory in checking student progress nor can they ask only a few of the students if they are having problems or have questions. Opportunities for applying knowledge and skills should be incorporated into every lesson.

Teachers typically know what learning outcomes they expect to achieve on any given day. A much less typical behavior is sharing this information with students. Teachers do rather well at giving adequate directions for accomplishing classroom tasks, however.

Unfortunately, while it appears better to inform students of what they are expected to do without letting them understand why, only giving directions has no association with attachment to teachers and a slight negative association with improvements in students' belief in the validity of rules. Thus, it appears that it is necessary to tell students: (1) what they are going to learn, (2) why they are going to learn it, (3) how what they are going to learn fits into the overall topic being presented.

The degree of depth and density, which includes suitable sequencing and pacing, accorded classroom topics is associated with attachment and improved behavior. Covering a law-related topic in depth requires (1) technical knowledge of the law, (2) skills in managing ambiguity and controversy, and (3) skills in organizing difficult material. At the same time, it is necessary for teachers to be aware that too much depth and detail can be confusing, frustrating, and boring for students.

Judicious Selection and Presentation of Illustrative Case Materials

The primary purpose of providing students with a balanced view of the judicial system is to foster among them a belief that laws are necessary and important for maintaining an orderly and predictable society. On the other hand, presenting the system as nightmarish appears to increase cynicism and negativism and reduces the possibility that law will come to be viewed as a positive tool for maintaining social order. On the other hand, when law and law enforcers are depicted as infallible, students not only discount the importance of what is being taught but also tend to doubt the credibility of the instructor.

The issue of balance often arises in connection with a visit from a resource person. Some resource persons, who have not been briefed properly by the teacher, will claim perfection for their part of the system. Others may spend entire class periods recounting horror stories, leaving no time to bring issues to closure by discussing available legal remedies.

The successful presentations of legal cases occur when (1) the topic selected for discussion generates strong initial differences of opinion among students, (2) the teacher and/or visitor, through preparation and rehearsal, comes to class able to anticipate the arguments and counter arguments that students are likely to voice, (3) students are required to back any view they express with reasons, (4) students are encouraged to respond to reasons voiced by other students, (5) the teacher uses probing questions to help individual students recognize and confront inconsistencies in their reasoning, and (6) the teacher enriches the issue-specific discussion with a wider view of the system and the balance that must be struck in it.

Teaching Strategies that Foster True Student Interaction and thus Affect Friendship Choices

Although LRE classrooms as a whole using group learning techniques produced slight negative associations with belief in the validity of social rules and nondelinquent peer relations, it apparently was not the strategy or set of strategies that proved to be ineffective in reaching these dimensions. Rather it appears to be the inherent difficulty with implementing group work effectively.

Some teachers seem to struggle when working with small groups. Many of the exercises observed during evaluation either were preceded by inadequate directions, were unsuitable to the task at hand, or simply consumed inordinate amounts of time. Moreover, few of the observed exercises involved true task interdependence, and none of them involved explicit reward interdependence.

Observers, consequently, have recommended that small group work be used selectively and appropriately, where it will enhance learning, and not simply for its own sake. In addition, strategies other than small group work are built into the LRE curricula and can be employed to achieve active participation and student-to-student interaction. Role playing and preparing for and conducting moot courts, mock trials, legislative hearings are notable examples of activities highly conducive to task and reward interdependence.

Yet another ideal opportunity for fostering student interaction occurs when dealing with controversial issues. Here again is an area in which many teachers feel uncomfortable or inadequate. Some "provide the correct answer." Some raise the level of abstraction of the issue to the point where it is no longer controversial. Few prepare students by developing and enforcing procedural guidelines for rationally analyzing and discussing issues that are controversial or conflicts.

Involvement of Building Administrators

The most effective LRE classes appear to be located in schools where building administrators actively participate in providing classroom resources, facilitating field trips, and dealing with concerns about LRE classes voiced by other teachers or members of the community. Administrators are also important in reducing the gap that can exist between school governance policies and the ideas about justice and procedural due process that may be generated in LRE class.

Informed administrators are aware, as well, of the problem inherent in using LRE classes as "dumping grounds" for troublesome students. If an overall objective is the reduction of delinquency, putting troublemakers together militates against the establishment of positive peer relationships. Thus, although administrators are often very busy and often overcommitted, it is advisable to include them in awareness conferences, provide them with descriptive/explanatory documents, and involve them in instructional decisions.

Availability and Use by Teachers of Professional Peer Support

The evidence suggests that teachers who are called upon to be innovative in the midst of others pursuing a more conventional course are likely to require uncommon levels of support from their peers. This support can be developed by providing training to teams of teachers from the same building, by arranging for classroom visits from a supportive district social studies supervisor or other curriculum administrator, or by scheduling ongoing follow-up sessions with state or local LRE project staff.

When more than one teacher in the same building is trained, opportunities arise for joint lesson planning, cooperative use of visits from resource persons and trips off school grounds, and classroom observation and provision of feedback. A team may also be more likely than a single teacher to be able to generate support for LRE from other teachers and administrators. In addition, the team gives the program more stability; the departure of one teacher via transfer or retirement does not leave a school without a trained LRE instructor.

Where teams cannot be developed, however, district-wide seminars and social functions for all LRE teachers can provide necessary peer support, reducing feelings of isolation and strengthening teachers' commitments to LRE's innovative methods and substance.

Conclusions

In some regard, the evaluation findings support the premise that improved instructional techniques by themselves can go far in achieving delinquency prevention objectives. A math teacher, a science teacher, a business teacher willing to adhere to the foregoing recommendations could well have an impact on students' behavior. Does this mean that instruction about the law is not that important? **NO**

Although good teaching practices contributed to the success of the classes that were assessed, it was also discovered that law-related education as a subject has significant favorable effects **over and above the consequences of superior instruction**. In traditional civics classes used for comparison, there was deliberate use throughout the semester of the same recommended teaching strategies as were used in the law-related education classes taught at the same school. Compared with those in the civic classes, students who received law-related education showed a significant reduction in their rate of delinquent behavior and significant improvement in most of the other outcomes measured.

The Six Essential Components of LRE

USE OF OUTSIDE RESOURCE PERSONS

SUFFICIENT QUANTITY OF INSTRUCTION

INVOLVEMENT OF ADMINISTRATORS

JUDICIOUS SELECTION OF MATERIALS

COLLEGIAL SUPPORT

INTERACTIVE TEACHING STRATEGIES

DOES LRE REDUCE DELINQUENCY?

YES...if properly implemented

LRE can:

- increase knowledge of law
- encourage positive behavior
- reduce use of violence to solve problems
- improve school attitude
- increase likelihood of law-abiding behavior

Based on a four-year study which concluded that LRE can serve as an effective deterrent to delinquency, the positive impact of LRE extends to students of all ability levels, including those with pre-existing levels of delinquent behaviors ranging from slight to substantial.

The evaluators determined that delinquency increased or decreased in proportion to the presence of these factors. In their absence there was no measurable effect or, in some cases, an increase in delinquent behaviors.

Institutionalizing Law-Related Education: Eight Case Studies*

by James Giese, G. Dale Greenawald, Barbara Miller, and James Schott

I. Introduction

Background and Purpose of the Study

In 1987, the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) decided to sponsor a study of institutionalization of law-related education (LRE) programs it had been funding since 1984. The agency had invested in a variety of activities over a period of years with the aim of bringing about interest, knowledge, and adoption of LRE programs throughout the United States. Although they knew that programs had been started and that many were still in operation, they wanted to document what actions taken in initiating and installing LRE programs lead to programs that persist. In essence, OJJDP was concerned with the following questions:

1. How do law-related education programs become institutionalized?

2. What factors influence institutionalization?

The Social Science Education Consortium, Inc. (SSEC), the assessment contractor to OJJDP's National Training and Dissemination Program (NTDP), was instructed to design a study that would help the agency address these questions about institutionalization. After preliminary investigation into the literature on institutionalization, educational innovation, and educational change, the SSEC designed a naturalistic research project based upon face-to-face interviews with practitioners in eight NTDP sites.

A thorough review of the secondary literature on institutionalization revealed that not enough was known about institutionalization in general or institutionalization of LRE in particular to construct a valid quantitative measure of the phenomenon or to indicate precisely what elements to measure. The most promising work in the field had been accomplished by Matthew B. Miles, who analyzed 12 case studies to create a model by which he sought to explain the process of institutionalization.

Based upon their review of the secondary literature, the SSEC staff decided to use the Miles research and theory as the basis for designing a research study that combined face-to-face interviews with documentary resources at eight LRE sites. Purposes of the study were:

1. To provide OJJDP and LRE practitioners with a rich and detailed body of knowledge about the perceptions that LRE practitioners have about institutionalization and the elements that impinge upon it.

2. To suggest hypotheses about institutionalization that may be tested later by other research or tested by practitioners against their own experience.

3. To provide a "real-world" check to confirm or contradict the theory and model developed by Miles.

Methodology

Qualitative or Naturalistic Research Paradigm

This research paradigm was chosen because the questions being addressed were exploratory and the information being sought needed to be rich in detail and context. Naturalistic research techniques were chosen because they have the power to help in understanding institutionalization from the participants' point of view. Face-to-face interviews revealed not only the participants' definitions and understanding of reality but also the meaning that they attach to that perceived reality. For example, the study demonstrated that participants' understanding of "infusion" or the appropriate role of "resource people" varied widely.

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*These excerpts were taken from a 1989 report of the same title prepared by the SSEC under Grant #85-JS-CX-0003 from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Points of view or opinions in this document are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the official position or policies of the U.S. Department of Justice.

Selection of Sites

Eight school districts were chosen in four states that had participated in OJJDP's NTDP and were judged to have strong LRE projects. The sites were selected to provide (1) broad geographic distribution, (2) a mix of urban, suburban, and rural sites, (3) a range of district sizes, (4) varied lengths of time in operation (all sites had been in operation for at least two years), and (5) sites judged by cooperating state coordinators to be "best-case" examples of LRE in their states.

Interview Protocol

The protocol was based on the following organizers adopted from Matthew Miles: (1) school district characteristics and the characteristics of the community, (2) characteristics of the LRE programs, (3) manner of implementation, and (4) individual characteristics. The original interview protocol was field tested and found to be too long. It was subsequently revised and shortened. In all, five versions of the interview protocol were created, one each for building-level administrators, central office administrators, resource people, state coordinators, and teachers.

Procedure

Two members of the SSEC staff conducted all the interviews. The researchers made site visits of three to five days at each location to conduct interviews and collect documents. In conjunction with a local coordinator or lead teacher, teachers, administrators, and resource people were selected for interviews, and the interviews were scheduled. In all, approximately 20 persons were interviewed at each site.

The respondents were guaranteed anonymity. This anonymity was assured by giving each site a fictitious name and location and describing all individuals by position rather than by name.

The interviews were guided by, but not limited to, the interview protocols. The interviews were sufficiently informal to allow the conversation to range into areas the respondents thought were important. The interviewer was also free to pursue in depth subjects that seemed to have potential payoff. The interviews were tape recorded, and the interviewers took notes.

As the interviews were proceeding, the information was being analyzed and the researchers were sharing information about their results. In this fashion, the interviews in each subsequent site visit were informed by previous work.

Using their tapes (in some cases the tapes were transcribed for analysis) and documents from each site, the researchers created narrative case study descriptions of each site. These descriptions were submitted to the local LRE contact and/or the state LRE coordinator for comments. These comments were solicited to guarantee accuracy.

Analysis

Once the case studies were completed, the researchers examined them in total to look for patterns, develop hypotheses, note trends, discover contradictions, test generalizations, and look for evidence of the theories proposed by the original model. Based on this examination, an executive summary of the case studies was written and a presentation on the results of the study was prepared. The presentation was made to the staff of OJJDP and its LRE grantees at a two-day seminar. The purposes of the seminar were twofold: (1) to inform the agency and its grantees of the data collected and (2) to get their reactions as a means of further informing the study.

Final Report

This report integrates the material from the case studies, the responses from the local contacts and/or state coordinators, and the results of the seminar with OJJDP and the grantees. The information is organized to be useful to program directors and practitioners while maintaining its integrity as qualitative, naturalistically obtained data.

Section 2, "Institutionalization: A Preliminary Model of Educational Change," summarizes the secondary research on institutionalization and describes the theoretical model developed by Matthew Miles, from which the organizers for this research project were derived.

In the final section of the report, the researchers have attempted to derive meaning by extrapolating from the research data. It is here that the researchers suggest patterns that seem to emerge, contradictions that seem to need explanation, hypotheses that might be instructive or the subject of further research, or phenomena observed, which, if characteristic, would be important to consider in implementing or maintaining programs.

2. Institutionalization: A Preliminary Model of Educational Change

In this section, we discuss the model of adoption, implementation, and institutionalization we had in mind as we created the interview protocols, conducted the field research, and thought about what we were discovering at the case study sites. What follows is not a comprehensive review of all the pertinent research we consulted. For a better understanding of that research base, readers are encouraged to consult Section 3 as well as the bibliography.

While our research was informed by an extensive review of the literature, we adopted and modified a model developed by Matthew B. Miles and his associates to guide our research. The strength of Miles' model was its focus on the structural and procedural elements of institutionalization. Its primary shortcomings, and the reason we modified the model, were its relative inattention to program characteristics, to the social and community context within which innovations occur, and to individual characteristics. The model and its modifications are discussed more fully below.

In his article "Unraveling the Mystery of Institutionalization" (*Educational Leadership*, November 1983), Matthew B. Miles suggests that, until recently, very little research has been done on why institutionalization occurs. He argues that we have been faced with a mystery, with few reliable guidelines to help us "unravel it."

According to Miles, most of the research on educational change up to 1983 stressed the "front end" of the process; that is, how innovations are adopted in the first place. A second body of research looked at the implementation of new educational programs. While this research did look at "continuation" of innovative programs, neither body of research focused directly on institutionalization.

During the late 1970s and early 1980s, scattered work (some in education, some not) did focus on the issue of institutionalization. For example, Yin et al. (1978) studied public organizations and found that in order to become built-in or routinized, innovations must have minimum support by users and managers, must complete certain "passages" (e.g., going from soft to hard money), and must survive certain "cycles" (new budget rounds or personnel turnover). In 1982, Corbett and associates focused on post-implementation events (e.g., provision of incentives and assessment of effectiveness), discovering that even the official incorporation of an innovation into the school's curriculum did not guarantee durable continuation. In a complementary study of human service organizations, Glaser (1981) found that staff opportunities to discuss implemented changes and to receive feedback and reinforcement—that is, personal involvement in the innovation—were important to sustained innovations.

In these and other studies, the emphasis tended to be on the "fact" that "good," well-mastered innovations, endorsed by the users, would "just somehow stay around." Continuation of innovations was assumed to happen naturally, without any particular additional effort.

The work of Berman and McLaughlin (1976-79) cast doubt on this facile assumption. Their research focused on federally-funded programs, which tended to disappear after federal funding terminated. As Huberman and Crandall (1983) remarked:

> In the chronicle of research on dissemination and use of educational practices, we

first put our chips on adoption, then on implementation. It turns out that these investments are lost without deliberate attention to the institutional steps that lock an innovation into the local setting. New practices that get built in to the training, regulatory, staffing and budgetary cycle survive; others don't. Innovations are highly perishable goods. Taking institutionalization for granted—assuming somewhat magically that it will happen by itself, or will necessarily result from a technically mastered, demonstrably effective project—is naive and usually self-defeating.

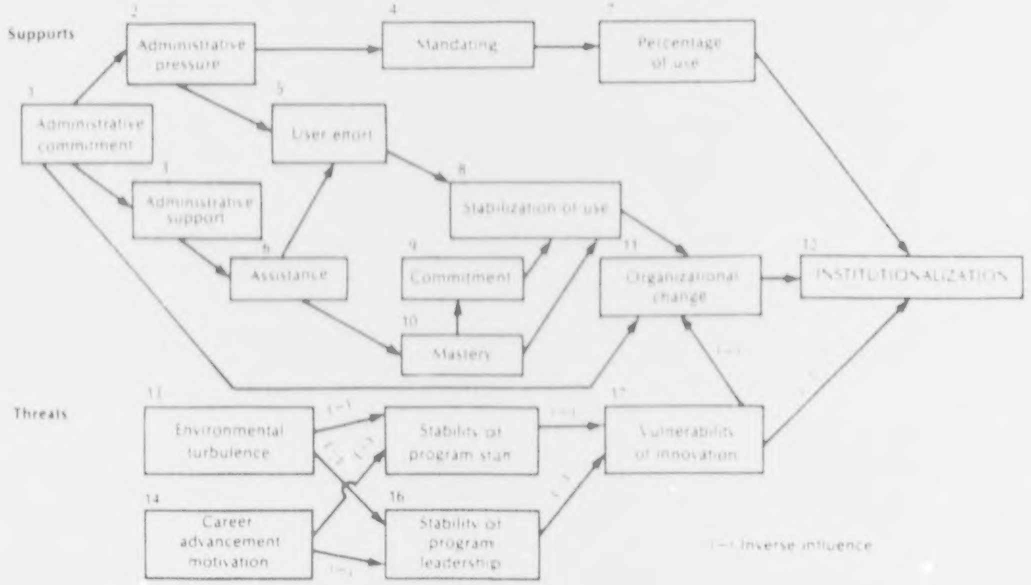
"Without some sense of 'built-in-ness,'" Miles suggests, "the fate of innovations is in doubt." For Miles, at least, the early studies tended to overemphasize the importance of user ownership, involvement, and technical skill in the innovation. What was missing, and what Miles and his associates sought to include, was the organizational-level structural and procedural changes required for enduring institutionalization.

In his own work, Miles (with Huberman and others, 1983, 1984) attempted to correct such overemphasis on the implementation stages of innovations and look more closely at the structural and procedural aspects of educational change. What their ethnographic, empirical research suggested about institutionalization appears in Figure 1.

A narrative summary of Miles' model and its basic hypotheses follows. Administrative commitment (1) is a necessary condition of institutionalization, but it is not, in itself, sufficient for an innovation to begin or to prosper and endure. The administration does not have to take the lead, but it does (at some point) have to get on the "bandwagon" if the innovation is to succeed/endure. Administrative involvement is of three kinds:

- Pressure (2), as through mandates.
- Support (3), as through assistance (6) in the form of training or materials.
- Organizational change (11), by getting the innovation in the budget or textbook and curriculum revision cycles, promoting new organizational norms, and so on.

FIGURE 1


Supports
1
Administrative commitment
2
Administrative pressure
3
Administrative support
4
Mandating
5
User effort
6
Assistance
7
Percentage of use
8
Stabilization of use
9
Commitment
10
Mastery
11
Organizational change
12
INSTITUTIONALIZATION
Threats
13
Environmental turbulence
14
Career advancement motivation
15
Stability of program staff
16
Stability of program leadership
17
Vulnerability of innovation
(−)
(−) Inverse influence

Both administrative pressure and assistance lead to increased user effort (5). Miles and his associates found that the more participants were engaged in or worked at the innovation, the more commitment (9) they had to the innovation; such ownership and advocacy also increased with mastery (10) of the innovation. Commitment and mastery lead, in turn, to stabilization (8) of the innovation's use. Such stabilization also increased through administrative pressure such as mandating (4), which also increased percentage of use (7).

These positive supports for innovation are, as Miles suggests, critical, but generally not sufficient to assure institutionalization. An array of forces tend to destabilize educational innovations. First is environmental turbulence (13)—cutting funds, declining student population, changing district priorities, emerging newer innovations. Second is career advancement motivation (14) of those involved with the innovation, whether through staff turnover (15) or mobility of leadership (16). If the innovation is not buffered against these kinds of destabilizing influences (threats), then the innovation may be said to be vulnerable (17).

In all this, Miles argues that if structural and procedural changes are effected (11), an innovation's vulnerability is reduced. The opposite also appears to be true. The general message of the model, then, is

> that the enthusiasm, skill, and effectiveness of the innovation [and its practitioners] are insufficient conditions for institutionalization. Rather, what seems required is strong attention of administrators to stabilizing and supporting the innovation, extending its use to a large group, and making provisions to protect the innovation against the threats of personnel turnover that are endemic in schools. Making clearcut changes in organizational structure, rules, and procedures seems essential both to stabilize the innovation and to buffer against turnover.

Finally, Miles also emphasizes the fact that administrators and teachers live in rather separate worlds; their problems differ markedly one from the other. Nevertheless, linkage between the two groups is essential for sustaining an innovation—and such links *can* be achieved. Teacher-administrator harmony is critical for successful innovation.

After an extensive review of the research literature, the research team judged the Miles model to be a workable point of departure for its own research. The research staff believed that Miles and his associates had outlined many of the important elements of educational innovation, particularly its specific focus on institutionalization. However, two important elements seemed to be underemphasized in Miles' model: the characteristics of the innovation itself (whether the demands the innovation placed on users or potential users would make adoption, stabilization, and institutionalization more or less difficult) and the social context in which innovation occurs (which seemed especially important for LRE).

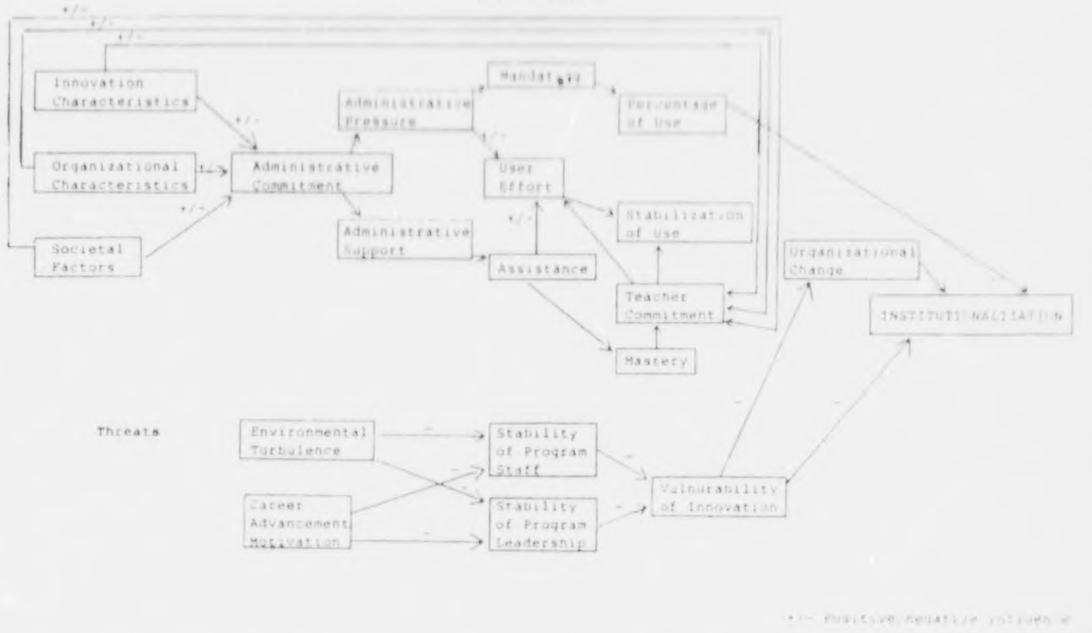
Furthermore, Miles' model implies that teachers and administrators as groups are highly uniform and may be dealt with as such. A good deal of research suggests these groups are highly variable and individuals within those groups respond to things accordingly. The research team thus focused attention on individual characteristics. See Figure 2 for the modified version of the model of institutionalization.

While the modified Miles' model informed the structure and conduct of our research, we found reporting the results in this fashion difficult. We have therefore adopted a different organization:

I. Program Characteristics
II. School District Characteristics
III. Individual Characteristics
IV. Manner of Implementation

Still, we trust that the dynamic nature of the educational systems and the innovation being investigated here is clear. We also hope that the interrelatedness of the complex realities these categories attempt to describe is not obscured.

FIGURE 2


+/-
+/-
+/-
Innovation Characteristics
Organizational Characteristics
Societal Factors
+/-
+/-
+/-
Administrative Commitment
Administrative Pressure
Administrative Support
Mandatory
+/-
Percentage of Use
User Effort
+/-
Stabilization of Use
Assistance
Teacher Commitment
Mastery
Organizational Change
INSTITUTIONALIZATION
Threats
Environmental Turbulence
Career Advancement Motivation
Stability of Program Staff
Stability of Program Leadership
Vulnerability of Innovation
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
-
+/- Positive/negative influence

3. Discussion

This section discusses selected observations derived from one or more of the case study investigations. The criteria for including any observation in this section were: (1) that it was actually observed or was actually reported by local LRE program participants during the field research; (2) that there was some fit (even contradictory) with the most current research and thinking with respect to institutionalization; and (3) that, in the "collective wisdom" of the research team, the observation seemed to have relevance to the National Training and Dissemination Program or for the LRE field in general.

Therefore, in addition to the selected observations from the case studies, readers will find discussions of relevant research literature. In each subsection, we have tried to indicate the research base upon which the research team relied throughout the investigation and which led the team to attach significance to many of the specific observations that follow. The research on institutionalization is rich and increasingly mature. It is, nevertheless, mute with respect to some of the specific concerns of LRE. As a result, the significance attached to some of the following observations is based on the informed judgments of the research team.

Nothing in this section should be construed to be prescriptive. These observations, inferences, and discussions of other relevant research are intended to sensitize LRE practitioners to some of the issues and processes they may encounter as they seek to disseminate, implement, and institutionalize LRE programs. Some of the specific observations highlighted here may not have analogs at other specific sites. In fact, some of the observations from the case study sites seem contradictory, suggesting that each school district is, to a great extent, *sui generis*. Yet there were many commonalities across sites and many observations validated other research on planned program change and institutionalization. The results of this study should therefore alert LRE advocates and practitioners to general issues, trends, cross-currents, and angles of attack, serving as an atlas of, if not a specific road map to, institutionalization.

LRE Program Characteristics

Discussion of Observations

Three components of LRE programs—curriculum materials, use of outside resource persons, and high-visibility cocurricular events (e.g., mock trials)—emerged from the case study research as important. Each seems to have implications for LRE program implementation and, to a degree, program maintenance.

The LRE materials used in the case study sites were perceived by teachers to (1) be of uniformly high quality; (2) generate high student interest; (3) be generally easy to use; (4) require little preparation time; and (5) be flexible. These characteristics tended to facilitate teachers' initial implementation and subsequent continuation of LRE. Teacher interviews also suggested that some teachers, especially those highly committed to and experienced with LRE, modified LRE curriculum materials to better suit their own and their students' needs. The results of such modification seem to have been mixed: in some cases the modifications were beneficial; in others they were less so. Respondents at some sites perceived a dearth of certain types of LRE materials, particularly those geared for middle schools.

Teachers in all the case study sites have used, and generally continue to use, outside resource persons. Information on the manner in which resource persons were used was not gathered by the field researchers. However, the frequency of use varies considerably from site to site. The case study research suggests that a number of factors influence the use of outside resource persons. On one hand, teachers tend to use outside resource persons more frequently if they personally know the resource persons. On the other hand, several perceived constraints tend to vitiate use of resource persons: (1) the time required to recruit and prepare them; (2) fear that resource persons are too busy; (3) increased preparation time in general; and (4) lack of centralized mechanisms for linking teachers and resource persons. Despite these constraints, teachers across the case study sites use resource persons with regularity.

The case study research produced one anomaly of note with respect to the use of outside resource persons. At one site, respondents reported that the use of resource persons declined over time. These teachers reported that they used resource persons less as they became more familiar with LRE content and felt less need to rely upon outside resource persons for content expertise.

In some of the case study sites, high-visibility events such as mock trials, Law Day, and police ride-alongs tended to generate enthusiasm for LRE among students, teachers, administrators, and community members. Among some of the respondents, these special events were mistakenly perceived to be *the* LRE program. In some cases, the payoffs from such events seemed to outweigh the costs of time and resources involved in conducting them. In other cases, the trade-offs calculus was less clear. In several cases, some LRE program participants perceived that without school district support and coordination for such events, the costs for teachers might soon outweigh the benefits, and the special program(s) was likely to decline if left solely to teachers.

Discussion of Research Base

A sizable body of research has consistently confirmed the importance of high-quality instructional materials for successful program implementation and continuation. Aoki et al. (1977) found that teachers reported that the lack of high-quality materials was a major barrier to program implementation. Simms (1978) and Kormos (1978) reported similar findings when teachers were given course outlines but lacked instructional materials to implement them.

Research related to the National Diffusion Network suggests that "well-articulated adoption materials which...are complete, well-organized, comprehensive and detailed" and which consider practical, teacher-oriented concerns are most effective in promoting adoption and implementation (Emrick and Peterson 1978). In a similar vein, Doyle and Ponder (1977-1978) stress that instructional materials must pass the test of the "practicality ethic" of teachers or the materials will not be used. House (1974), Stearns, Greene, and David (1977), Campeau et al. (1979), and Horst et al. (1980) all suggest that many innovations failed largely because teachers found the materials to be impractical, time-consuming, and difficult to use. Fullan (1982) concludes that "many innovative efforts have suffered from the lack of high-quality, practical, usable resources."

Research in educational change also suggests that teacher adaptation of instructional materials, whether of the highest quality or not, will occur. In fact, some early work in this area suggested that the adaptation process w[illegible] program continuation because it [illegible] of ownership among users (Ber[illegible] 1976-1979). Huberman and [illegible] that local modification [illegible] These changes had [illegible] less, they d[illegible] innovation wa[illegible] In addition, Huberman [illegible] teachers had [illegible] up assistance [illegible] ible difference in p[illegible] between locally-developed [illegible] programs.

With respect to [illegible] persons and high-visibility eve[illegible] little direct research on similar topics. Yet the research on institutionalization is not mute in this regard. For example, Wolcott's (1973) discovery that non-curricular, public image issues ("what does my school or district look like to the board or the public?") were a major focus of principals' time and energy may help explain administrator support of high visibility LRE events. Administrator support may be high in the case study sites because of particularly strong community support and involvement in these events and because the costs to administrators are low when compared to the benefits they perceive.

Teachers seem, however, to have other concerns. The work of Werner (1980), Fullan (1982), Huberman (1981), and Loucks and Hall (1979) found that teachers tend to analyze innovations in terms of the trade-offs between the benefits or rewards the innovation might provide as compared to the costs in time, energy, and threats to their established practices. Moreover, the research suggests that the costs and rewards calculus with respect to any innovation or program component is uniquely individual. In this regard, some teachers engage in special LRE events because they support the academic LRE program. Others participate to win the mock trial competition. There are no doubt many other reasons as well. Further discussion of this research base may be found in the section on "Individual Characteristics."

School District Characteristics

Discussion of Observations

The OJJDP research effort modified widely used models for looking at organizational change. In this distillation, we divided the change process into three phases: (1) awareness/adoption; (2) implementation; and (3) maintenance/continuation (or institutionalization). Interview questions were framed and observations made concerning categories of information that cut across all three phases. Among the most important questions were those related to the following: (1) organizational route/decision-making style of districts; (2) program leadership and political considerations; (3) district receptivity; (4) reputation of the LRE program; and (5) sources and kinds of program support.

Organizational Route/Decision Making. The case study research indicated that a variety of approaches was effective in securing adoption and implementation of LRE. Depending on the size of the district and specific patterns of organization (both formal and informal), both top-down and bottom-up approaches to innovation worked in the case study sites. In several of the case study sites, the central office coordinator was the key person. In other districts, teachers were the key to initial innovation. In yet others, the key person was the district superintendent or a building principal. The upshot is that there is no general plan or pattern that fits all local situations. With respect to various indicators of institutionalization in specific districts, the case studies also indicate that various routes were more or less effective in securing institutionalization.

Leadership and Political Considerations. Regardless of the organizational route or decision-making style of the case study sites. *Leadership was the key in all phases of the change process.* Such leadership appeared to be function-defined rather than role-defined. By that we mean that the role assignments of district personnel were less important than the fact that leadership emerged from one or another source, whether a central office person, superintendent, school board member, principal, or teacher.

District leadership was effective, according to respondents, to the extent that the leader was politically sensitive, attuned to the culture of the school district, and astute with respect to both the formal and informal communications and decision-making networks of the district. Involving certain gatekeepers (their title and position may vary from district to district)—whether as advocates or as informed non-hostile observers—is perceived to be conducive to innovation. In addition, respondents perceived that district program leaders needed access to resources defined in terms of time and money.

In virtually every case, local program advocates perceived various political threats—whether hostile department chairs or unreceptive teachers—to LRE, but they had been able to formulate strategies for dealing with those situations. It appears to be important to recognize that there will be intellectually honest differences of opinion with respect to any innovation.

District Receptivity. Observations about district receptivity to LRE were largely concerned with the perceived needs of people within each district. Respondents indicated a variety of perceived needs to which LRE was seen as a possible solution. These included concern about faltering student citizenship test scores, population turnover and the noticeable increase in minority populations (both in the community and in the schools), the need for "law and order" and respect for rights and responsibilities among students, and the need to inculcate civic values and to decrease delinquency and vandalism. At the same time, some respondents gravitated to LRE because it was personally or professionally attractive, sometimes in terms of its content, sometimes in terms of its interactive teaching strategies, and sometimes because LRE was seen to reinvigorate the teaching and learning process generally. LRE was typically perceived by many advocates to be what education should be about.

Respondents in some case study sites indicated that proper timing (i.e., fitting an innovation with the district's curriculum review cycle) and consonance with other current educational trends tend to facilitate general district receptivity toward innovations. Many respondents indicated that LRE was initially adopted and implemented during times characterized by general reform ferment in education (e.g., during the "new social studies" era). Other respondents suggested that district receptivity to any innovation tended to diminish if the district was already involved in other unrelated programs/innovations—this principle was seen to be true of districts, administrators, and teachers.

Finally, some respondents suggested that certain teachers resisted innovations because of such other perceived needs/constraints as the "crowded curriculum"; that is, they had too many other things to do already—they did not need yet another demand on their time. Other respondents indicated that some teachers resisted LRE because they were already doing "something better" (which they defined as more important, more interesting, or which they felt more compelled to do) than LRE, at least with respect to their own students and teaching assignments. Elementary teachers in particular voiced the strain they felt by being subjected year after year to program revision cycles (e.g., reading this year, math next year, social studies the year after that). Such continuous revision tended to diminish their enthusiasm for LRE or any other specific innovation.

Reputation of the LRE Program, and Sources and Kinds of Program Support. Observations concerning program reputation and sources and kinds of support suggest that support by respected individuals is important in all phases of program change. Likewise, successful programs tended to achieve mobilization of a variety of networks including superintendents, central office personnel, community resource persons, and school board members. The relative importance of these networks varied by size, type, and style (or culture) of the observed school districts. In addition, program leaders were successful in cultivating a base of internal advocates who were able, in turn, to promote and sustain the innovation.

Other Considerations. With respect to the maintenance and continuation phases of program change, respondents had a variety of insights to share with the field researchers. Many felt that both internal and external support were essential to insure program continuation. Internal support, such as regularly scheduled staff development for new teachers and renewal programs for old hands, was seen as necessary by many teachers. External support (e.g., in the form of notable outside experts) was seen as important for attracting themselves and their colleagues to specific training sessions. Some respondents perceived that their programs had begun to lose energy over time, either because the administration was less supportive than was once the case, because district priorities had shifted to some degree, or because district resources (for whatever reason) simply were unavailable to sustain the [illegible]

While none of [illegible] research team has [illegible] tropy," the tendency [illegible] and become chaotic [illegible] grams are systems [illegible] ergy and resources tend [illegible] Based on our research and [illegible] it appears that such entropy can be [illegible] and meliorated to some extent [illegible] cates.

Discussion of Research Base

Research work by Rosenblum and Louis (1979), Miles et al. (1978), Carlson (1972), Havelock and Havelock (1973b), and Daft and Becker (1978) clearly demonstrates the importance of central office support during the adoption phase of program change. While Berman and McLaughlin (1975, 1978) emphasized the role of the principal in program change, Huberman and Crandall (1982) found that "the counteracting evidence here is strong that central office personnel are active scanners—perhaps the only active scanners in the district—and when they fasten on a promising practice, are almost certain to get it adopted locally." The latter finding more closely fits the observations of our research, except, of course, in school districts having no such positions. In those instances, other administrative leadership was more important.

Research by Emrick and Peterson (1978), Berman and McLaughlin (1979), and Rosenblum and Louis (1979) demonstrates that the continuation of administrative support during the implementation and maintenance phases is also important. These studies suggest that top-down models of program change can be effective when certain conditions are met. Again, regardless of the source of program innovation, strong central office support is essential for successful program implementation and continuance (institutionalization).

While the effectiveness of administration-driven innovation has strong support in the research literature, teacher-driven models of program change also have a research base. Daft and Becker (1978), Berman (1981), and Aoki, et al. (1977) all suggest that while teachers are often not well-connected with information dissemination networks in their fields, they can play a vital role in bringing innovations into their school districts. Although stressing the necessity of administrative support for effective innovation, Huberman and Crandall (1982) also recognize that local teacher-initiated change can occur if teachers secure the necessary support of district decision makers. Our review of the research literature suggests that teachers may be more effective in the adoption and implementation phases of innovation, either with or without administrative support, than in the institutionalization phase. In the latter, teachers require more district administrative support.

Sarason (1982), Rogers (1983), Fullan (1982), Miles, Fullan, and Taylor (1978), and a virtually endless list of other researchers have argued that to be successful, innovators must understand the culture of the school, be sensitive to the political nature of innovations, and be aware of the need for normative as well as structural changes that lend support to innovation. Miles (1964), Pankratz, Tanner, Leeke and Moore (1980), and others have advocated the creation of explicitly temporary systems that promote innovations by creating new structural and normative environments and by escaping the barriers to change imposed by working within the culture of existing organizations.

While there is limited research about the effectiveness of incremental growth of innovative programs, there is substantial support for matching resources to tasks that incremental growth promotes. Yin, Herald, and Vogel (1977), in a study of organizational change in a wide variety of settings, found that innovations that could be implemented in increments were more likely to succeed than those that could not. Rosenblum and Louis (1979) reported similar findings. Huberman and Crandall (1982) suggested that smaller scale projects that allowed targeting of resources had smoother beginnings. Fullan (1982) likewise reported that an incremental strategy is effective, attributing this success to the more balanced match between tasks and resources.

Having an innovation become an established part of school district routines that characterize established courses—curriculum review and textbook adoption cycles, teacher recruitment and training, budgeting, and scheduling—has long been recognized as an essential element of institutionalization. Indeed, these routines comprise the very definition of institutionalization. Sarason (1982), Berman and McLaughlin (1978), and Huberman and Crandall (1982) all stress the importance of incorporating an innovation into the routine practices of the school district.

A sizable body of research focuses on the issue of school district receptivity, but there is little direct evidence about the effect that timing the innovation to coincide with local curriculum cycles may have on implementation and institutionalization. The research cited above, however, strongly suggests that inclusion in those cycles is highly desirable. It is only logical to assume that gaining entrance to those cycles is easiest when they are most open or least rigid, which occurs during the revision and review process. In general, the findings of the research literature with respect to matching innovations to specific local needs cut in two directions. On one hand, Berman and McLaughlin (1977, 1979) demonstrate the benefits of needs-based adoption as compared to opportunistic decision making. Emrick and Peterson (1978) and Louis and Sieber (1979) noted that implementation was more effective when the innovation was responding to a specific perceived need. Rosenblum and Louis (1979) found that formal recognition of an unmet need was one of four factors positively related to later innovation. On the other hand, Huberman and Crandall (1982) found that innovations were not usually adopted in response to an articulated problem but were generally seen as improving classroom instruction and schoolwide management.

While there is little evidence about enhanced receptivity resulting from some fit between the innovation and general educational trends, some peripheral evidence supports this connection. Nelson and Sieber (1976) found that publicity and faddism were major reasons promoting new adoptions, at least among urban secondary school administrators. Wolcott's (1973) study of principals suggests that public relations concerns are a high priority, implying that highly visible (or somehow popular) innovations may be attractive to this group. Katz et al. (1963), House (1974), and Carlson (1972) explore this issue from a more oblique angle, emphasizing the role of peer networks in information dissemination and problem identification. These consistent, if peripheral, research findings suggest that coat-tailing on current educational movements or concerns may enhance the likelihood of an innovation's becoming part of the curriculum.

The importance of responding to teacher concerns, of which the "crowded curriculum" is only one, has long been recognized in the research. Loucks and Hall (1979) have developed an entire staff development model to support innovations based on identifying and responding to progressive stages of teachers' concerns with respect to innovation. Fullan (1982) contends that change must be partially rooted in the resocialization of teachers while attending to their perceived needs. Huberman (1981) stresses that follow-up support responsive to teacher concerns during the initial phases of implementation is a critical variable. Further discussion of these and other issues is presented in the section on "Individual Characteristics."

Miles (1983), Louis (1980), Berman and McLaughlin (1977), Huberman (1981), and others have emphasized the negative consequences of what has become known as "environmental turbulence." Changes in district demographics, budget cuts, mandated curricular changes, and staff turnover are examples of disruptions experienced by school districts. These disruptions have been shown to limit the prospects for implementation and institutionalization of many innovations. Given limited resources and time, such turbulence negatively affects an innovation.

There is little direct evidence that the reputation of an innovation assists local practitioners in adopting, implementing, and institutionalizing the innovation. There is, however, considerable evidence that innovations spread through interpersonal networks. If respected opinion leaders are early adopters, their decision to participate favorably influences others to become involved. Carlson (1972), House (1974), and Huberman and Crandall (1982) persuasively demonstrate the importance of respected educational leaders as torchbearers for innovations. In short, teachers have great credibility among other teachers, administrators among other administrators.

A broad research base supports the idea that mobilizing a range and sufficient number of program advocates is necessary to insure program continuation in the face of environmental turbulence and other destabilizing influences. Fullan (1982) speaks about change as a process of resocialization, which implies the creation of new norms and standards among specific groups. Huberman and Crandall (1982) discuss the importance of developing a cadre of teachers, principals, and central office administrators who have access to the various district resources necessary to support an innovation. House (1974), House and Lapan (1978), and Werner (1980) suggest that teacher-to-teacher interaction is critical for change to become internalized among this group.

In sum, the research suggests that innovation is most likely to succeed (and become institutionalized) when key people in a specific district become advocates or at least tacit supporters. The specific key people will vary from district to district, depending on the structure and organization of the district and even on the personalities/likes and dislikes of the district personnel filling relevant roles and functions. In addition, a number of people representing a wide range of roles must be mobilized to help insure the success of an innovation.

With respect to the process of school district program planning itself, virtually all researchers concur that planning for change is fundamentally important if change is to be effected. Although Fullan (1982), for example, appears to question the possibility of planning for change, a careful reading suggests that he is questioning not the planning process itself, but many of the assumptions upon which planning has traditionally been based and a conception of planning as a hard-and-fast guide to be followed regardless of unanticipated events. In fact, Fullan may be closest to the mark when he states, "the fundamental goal for planners...is to achieve a feel for the change process and the people in it, which entails a blend of research knowledge and experiential knowledge." Lindblom and Cohen (1980) advance a similar argument.

In their research, Huberman and Crandall (1982) report that many of the districts they studied had plans for program continuation, but these plans tended to falter if they overlooked the development of broad-based support or making structural changes in the district. In short, if an innovation's advocates did not reach beyond the classroom, if they did not insure teacher mastery of the innovation, or if they did no more than demonstrate improved student performance, the innovation tended to disappear over time.

Individual Characteristics

Discussion of Observations

The OJJDP research effort focused on several topics with respect to individual characteristics. One set of observations dealt with the issue of receptivity among various groups in the local case study sites. Another set of observations focused on the issue of generating and maintaining the enthusiasm and commitment of program participants.

Information gleaned across sites indicated that some teachers tended to be attracted to LRE while other teachers showed little interest. Respondents suggested that several things accounted for the interest of those receptive to LRE. Some teachers were receptive because LRE fit their teaching style. Some were receptive because of their interest in the law *per se*. Others said they saw LRE as a vehicle for improved social control inside and outside their classrooms. Yet others were attracted to LRE because they found that LRE strategies and materials were inherently interesting to their students.

Just as a variety of things favorably predisposed teachers to LRE, a variety of things were suggested as operating against it. Some respondents suggested that their own or their colleagues' preferred teaching styles and educational philosophies were incongruent with those characteristics of LRE. Some teachers believed that LRE did not fit well with the content and objectives of their assigned courses. Respondents also indicated that some teachers perceive the curriculum to be too crowded already; that is, they cannot cover all they are expected to cover now, making any additional program (or even unit) out of the question. Finally, some respondents indicated they had little interest in the law and their discipline training and course assignments lay in other areas, particularly history.

At most case study sites, a relatively small band of torchbearing advocates were the driving force behind LRE. A careful examination of these advocates revealed a number of common elements. First, LRE was a high priority to them, and they had developed a high degree of commitment to it. Second, respondents reported that their commitment was generated in a number of ways, with active involvement ranking high among them. Examples of involvement included intensive, long-term training and follow-up experiences that generated collegiality; materials selection and development; conducting awareness sessions for administrators and training for second-generation teachers; and such other activities as conference presentations. Third, many of the LRE advocates perceived themselves as special, sometimes seeing themselves as better teachers than their non-LRE colleagues. Finally, the collected data contained slight evidence that teachers progressed through a series of stages of concern, although the fact that most of the respondents had participated in initial training some time ago (and therefore their initial stages of concern may be forgotten memories) may have skewed the results.

Discussion of Research Base

Fullan (1982) arguably provides one of the most sensible starting points for examining issues related to teacher receptivity when he states that "change is a highly personal experience—each and every one of the teachers who will be affected by change must have the opportunity to work through this experience in a way in which the rewards at least equal the cost." Looking at change in terms of cost/benefit analysis, which Fullan does above, has been a fruitful construct with respect to all actors involved in program change. This idea may be found in much of the research literature on innovation.

Doyle and Ponder (1977-78) suggest that teachers apply a "practicality ethic which has three dimensions"—congruence, instrumentality, and cost. "Congruence" refers to a teacher's estimate of how students will respond to an innovation and how well it fits their particular situation. Benefits might involve increased student interest and achievement. Costs might include the extra effort required to get the increased expected outcomes and the "fit" between the innovation and the teacher's current practice. Other teacher concerns might include what course or courses they are teaching, institutional norms regarding instructional strategies, and the ability level of students in specific courses.

"Instrumentality" refers to the amount of effort teachers must invest in order to translate program rationales and theory into actual classroom practice. For example, theoretical models or "curriculum frameworks" without substantially complete instructional materials are largely impractical. In these situations, teachers often find the costs of implementation too high, even if theory is congruent with their experience and philosophy, has a solid research base, and is directed toward achieving desirable ends. In short, translating theory into practice, at least for teachers, is most often seen as too time- and energy-consuming to be attractive.

"Costs" is a general summary of the calculations teachers make about an innovation from their personal perspectives: "what do I get for what I have to invest?" Loucks and Crandall (1982) found that among teachers involved in one innovation, two groups emerged: those who faced only modest changes in their behavior to meet the innovation's expectations and those who were required to make substantial changes. For those facing drastic changes in their classroom practices, the cost side of the

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equation will certainly be higher than for those who can make the transition with relative ease. This is not to suggest that the magnitude of change is the only variable in teachers' cost/benefit calculations, nor that it is necessarily the most important one; it is certainly a consideration, however.

Lortie (1975) and others have consistently noted that the primary motivators for most teachers are intrinsic. It should therefore not be surprising that innovation (change) by its nature poses teacher-perceived costs. Demand for change often implies that something is wrong with current practice. Mastering new behaviors is difficult; it requires time and practice. Initial efforts to change behavior will probably lack the smoothness and comfort associated with long experience. Even if early attempts at change are relatively successful, trying something new and unknown produces anxiety and therefore has a psychic cost.

While innovation contains inherent costs, it also contains potential rewards. The excitement of planning something new to which you are committed, seeing students become engaged learners, developing a further sense of professional competence and mastery, and achieving of sense of collegiality and specialness are good examples of the potential benefits to be derived from innovations (Fullan 1982).

Many of the factors that influence individual receptivity as identified by respondents in the case study research (e.g., fit with teaching style, interest in the law, improved social control, curricular fit, student enthusiasm, and anxiety over dealing with the crowded curriculum) will vary among potential LRE teachers. Each potential LRE teacher will differ with respect to his/her interest in and receptivity to LRE, largely as a result of individual cost/benefit analysis.

Fullan (1982) argues persuasively that change is not only organizational and structural (correcting Miles' model of change in this important respect), but individual and personal as well. Fullan points to the need for administrative support and encouragement (supported by Huberman 1981) and "sustained interaction and staff development" as necessary ingredients for new norms (which support new behaviors) to emerge. Fullan equates effective staff development with resocialization. Furthermore, he contends that resocialization must begin wherever the teachers currently are and then must move them toward the objectives of the innovation. At the same time, the demands of the innovation must be tempered to adjust it to reality as perceived by teachers.

Although the case study research sponsored by OJJDP uncovered little about the stages of teacher concerns, a substantial body of research literature exists on this topic. The work of Hall, Loucks, and their colleagues at the University of Texas (e.g., Loucks and Hall 1979) shows that teachers involved in an innovation progress through a series of stages of concern. Their work suggests that teacher concerns move along a continuum that begins with teachers having little or no interest in the innovation and ending with teachers being concerned about refining, extending, and improving the innovation. The specific stages of this concerns-based adoption model are:

- Teachers have little or no interest in the innovation.
- Teachers become curious about the innovation.
- Teachers begin to seriously consider how the innovation will affect them personally.
- Teachers begin to explore possible management issues.
- Teachers become concerned about student impact.
- Teachers become concerned with how the innovation can be related to other teachers.
- Teachers begin to refocus and become concerned with refining, extending, and improving the program.

Although the case study research in this report adduced little evidence about this concerns-based model, it appears to have relevance with respect to teacher receptivity to LRE, to training, and to a number of other issues.

Manner of Implementation

Discussion of Observations

Students of organizational change almost universally agree that the manner in which an innovation is implemented virtually dictates its prospects for institutionalization. Observations and respondents' perceptions at the case study sites support this conventional wisdom. The following discussion is organized into three categories: training and support, infusion, and mandates.

Training and Support. Respondents at the case study sites discussed a number of factors that they perceived influenced the prospects for institutionalizing LRE in their districts. The following were all seen to exert a powerful influence: (1) distribution of training over time (timing); (2) the quality of training, defined in terms of intensity and types of training activities; (3) characteristics of the audience; and (4) characteristics of the trainer or trainers.

In terms of the timing of training, respondents across sites suggested that high-quality *initial* training was critical to the success of the local LRE program. Many believed that high quality front-end training—which they defined as preparing teachers to return to their classes and experience success—not only contributed to teachers' willingness to implement LRE, but also had a bearing on whether they would continue to refine their LRE skills. In addition to front-end training, teachers across the case study sites emphasized the need for long-term follow-up training, continuing resources to support their efforts, and opportunities to share implementation issues with their colleagues.

According to our respondents, however, initial training in LRE was not sufficient to sustain the program. Maintaining high levels of enthusiasm was linked to having continuing opportunities for renewal and involvement. Not only is continuous training important to succor the initial advocates, it is also important for the new teachers constantly coming into the system. This should come as no surprise. Schools are dynamic systems with constant changes in personnel, priorities, and resources. To view them as static systems in which programs will just somehow continue after they have been put in place is to invite destabilization and discontinuance.

With respect to the quality of training issue, teachers across sites reported that intense training experiences had a salutary impact on themselves and their colleagues. Some observed that training was almost like a "conversion experience." Several models of intensive training were undertaken in the case study sites. One such model achieved intensity by requiring teachers to participate in many hours of training distributed over several months. Another effective model of training involved concentrated multi-day initial training coupled with long-term follow-up and support. In either model, teachers were able to internalize principles of LRE and apply those principles in the classroom, in selecting or developing materials, and in expanding their involvement in the LRE program.

Training that matched the felt needs and concerns of teachers was seen to be effective training. Providing rationales for LRE during training seemed to persuade some teachers of the importance and effectiveness of the program. Giving teachers opportunities to actually experience LRE not only enhanced teaching skills, but also generated a sense of enthusiasm and commitment that sustained some participants through difficult phases of implementation.

Case study data also suggested that training needs varied widely across audiences. Middle school teachers responsible for teaching an LRE course, for example, had different training needs than elementary teachers preparing to infuse LRE. Teachers who were "old hands" with respect to LRE had different needs compared to relative novices. Teachers already comfortable with or predisposed toward interactive teaching strategies perceived their training needs as being different than those of more traditional teachers.

Characteristics of LRE trainers also influenced the nature of the training and therefore implementation and prospects for institutionalization. Case study data suggest that the following characteristics were perceived to be influential: (1) modeling of LRE strategies by the trainers (e.g., use of outside resource persons, case study analysis) encouraged teachers to use those strategies in their own classes; (2) the participation of trainers from national projects promoted a sense of specialness among trainees and, in some instances, attracted volunteer participants to training sessions; (3) including local teacher/presenters in training conveyed to some participants a feeling of ease, reality, and practicality ("If Joe can do it in his class, so can I"), as well as an identified resource from whom help could be sought after the out-of-town expert left.

Closely related to the notion that teachers are perceived as credible trainers is the idea that under certain conditions, teacher mentoring can be an effective staff development technique. Mentoring was effective in those districts in which large-scale staff development was either unnecessary or impractical. Respondents suggested that networking among LRE teachers, while not always an organized approach to staff development, served to maintain enthusiasm, motivation, and commitment among local advocates.

Infusion as a Strategy for Implemention. The case studies also shed valuable light on infusion as a strategy for implementing LRE. Infusion of LRE was universally favored by both teacher and administrator respondents in the case study sites as a (some suggested the only) viable vehicle for assuring that *every student will have an LRE experience.* Many teachers and administrators in the case study sites also believed that infusion was working. Others believed that infusion was working, given a variety of real world constraints, but they were not yet satisfied with the number of teachers actually infusing LRE lessons and activities in their courses.

Teachers of some courses, particularly government and civics, seemed to be very receptive to LRE because of the fit between LRE and the content and objectives of those courses. This was especially true for government and civics teachers whose courses were two semesters long. Those teaching one-semester courses perceived LRE to be consonant with respect to content and objectives but often did not include it because of time constraints. Those elementary teachers who perceived a fit between LRE and their own objectives (e.g., the importance of rules, responsibilities) were also receptive to infusing LRE lessons in their classes. However, concerns about always being pressed for time (''the crowded curriculum'') and being responsive to the specific needs of their students (''reading scores for this group are very low'') were countervailing forces that acted against infusion. Teachers of other social studies courses (e.g., U.S. history) appeared to be generally less receptive to LRE, largely because of perceived time constraints and less apparent fits with course content and objectives.

While local respondents were generally content with their infusion implementation strategies, if one applies a more rigorous standard for what infusion might mean—e.g., the systematic inclusion of a similar quantity and quality of LRE instruction in all courses of similar description in a school district—LRE infusion of this sort could not be found. To be sure, the foregoing definition of infusion is arguable at best. Indeed, it is quite possible that any infused innovation (and perhaps any particular course) could not stand up to such a rigorous definition. Nevertheless, if infusion continues to be seen as an implementation strategy of choice among LRE practitioners, and if the concern about providing students with a *sufficient quantity and quality of LRE instruction* continues to be an important objective of LRE programs, the infusion issue requires further scrutiny.

Mandates. Most respondents felt that mandates offered the most direct way to guarantee a place for LRE in the curriculum. There was also almost universal agreement that mandating LRE without providing adequate resources could adversely affect an LRE program. By expanding the number of teachers required to teach LRE, mandating almost inevitably implies that some teachers are going to be forced to teach LRE even though their interests, teaching styles, and general receptivity augur against their enthusiastic acceptance of the new assignment. Such teachers will probably require a much larger investment of training and resources to get them ''up to speed'' with respect to LRE. Mandated LRE courses, implemented without sufficient training and support for teachers, were often less than the mandates intended.

Discussion of the Research Base

A substantial body of research focuses on models of program implementation. Research literature on staff development is also relevant to this topic. With respect to the timing of training (i.e., at what point in innovation is training most effective to insure change?), Berman and McLaughlin (1978), Downey et al. (1975), Smith and Keith (1971), and others suggest that pre-implementation training alone is ineffective in promoting innovation. Rosenblum and

Louis (1979) found that any form of "one-shot" training, even prior to or during implementation, was not helpful in sustaining innovation. The most effective model of training they reported involved a significant amount of front-end training coupled with periodic training during implementation. Berman and McLaughlin (1978) corroborate this view, arguing that front-end training of sufficient duration and quality to insure a high probability of initial classroom success must be followed by frequent support during actual implementation. Huberman (1981) reported that follow-up support that responded to teacher concerns during implementation was critical for program success. Fullan (1982) argues that "no matter how much advance staff development occurs, it is when people actually try to implement new approaches that they have the most specific concerns and doubts."

Huberman and Crandall (1982) suggest that teachers who encounter poor student performance, who have difficulty applying new strategies, or who encounter other problems during the early phases of implementation are likely to abandon the innovation unless their concerns are addressed. Lortie (1975) observed that if teachers perceive a decline in student learning, a loss of interest, or classroom management and control problems, they are likely to revert to their old practices.

With respect to the quality and duration of training, Joyce and Showers (1980-81) in a meta-analysis of research on staff development concluded that training must include theory, demonstration, practice, feedback and application, and coaching. Loucks and Hall (1978) approach staff development from the point of view of practitioner concerns (the concerns-based adoption model). While diverging in some details, these models of staff development are highly consistent: each requires moving from theoretical foundations of an innovation to ever-more practical, hands-on experiences that demonstrate the innovation.

The research also contains insights about the role of internal and external change agents. Huberman and Crandall (1982) argue persuasively that both types of change agents have a valuable role to play in educational change. "The implementation of practices contributing concretely to school improvement," they contend, "appears to live or die by the presence of external agents who deliver, broker, or lay the groundwork for these efforts." What was more, they found that sites using both internal and external facilitators had higher levels of use than sites using only external ones.

The research literature is relatively harsh with respect to the effectiveness of external agents as trainers while generally supporting the inclusion of teachers as trainers. Fullan (1982), McLaughlin and Marsh (1978), and others have described the limited results achieved by most external trainers. However, they also note that most of the training sessions they reviewed were not ongoing, interactive, or designed to provide cumulative learning. National Training and Dissemination Program training designs, coupling local and national trainers in both training and follow-up, supply many of the elements found missing in other training designs.

Hord et al. (1987), Huberman and Crandall (1982), and Fullan (1982) all discuss program implementation needs that can only be addressed by internal (or local) expertise. While external agents can deliver relatively inexpensive and high-quality training and other sporadic assistance, someone at the local level must be available to provide continuing follow-up support, provide feedback, coach, monitor program implementation, secure resources, schedule training, and the like. To be sure, some of these activities can be supported and accomplished by external agents, but they have a relatively higher likelihood of success if delivered from within.

Louis (1980) and Berman and McLaughlin (1977) have sensitized change agents to staff turnover as one of the most serious threats to program continuation. Their work suggests that simply having a program in place and all of the appropriate teachers trained does not insure that trained teachers will be available in several years to teach the program. Their findings substantiate the need for ongoing training just to maintain a cadre of prepared instructors.

Not only must new teachers be inducted into the innovation, but the enthusiasm and commitment of experienced teachers must be maintained. The concept of "burnout" among teachers, documented by

National Education Association polls (1980) and research by Cherniss (1980), has become part of the conventional wisdom. Case study respondents reported a need for periodic professional renewal updating their content and instructional skills. Highly demanding innovations and those concerned with dynamic (even volatile) information bases require continuous cycles of training.

In addition to traditional staff development activities that promote implementation, seldom-used approaches to teacher enhancement also have a research base. Both mentoring and networking were mentioned by case study respondents as factors promoting LRE. Elliot (1976-1977), Fullan (1982), and others have noted that teachers consistently report that their most valuable source of new ideas and classroom activities is other teachers. Lortie (1975) suggested that collegial sharing of information, although it happens infrequently, is a powerful force for change. Devaney's (1977) research on teacher centers a decade ago provides additional evidence that structural changes that promote sharing can, in turn, promote significant behavioral change among participants. In short, mentoring and networking could play a significant role in providing follow-up support and assistance during the initiation and implementation phases of innovation.

There is little direct research on infusion as a strategy of implementation. Nevertheless, some of the research is suggestive with respect to this issue. McKibbin and Joyce (1980), for example, found wide variations in teachers' receptivity to staff development opportunities. Doyle and Ponder's (1977-78) use of cost-benefit analysis to explain differential teacher responses to innovations is consistent. Loucks and Crandall (1982) discovered that teachers involved in innovations either required little change in behavior or required rather major changes, depending on the fit between the expectations of the innovation and teachers' normal practice. These findings may have relevance for infusion.

In the case study sites, infusing LRE was optional or voluntary. Interestingly, Rosenblum and Louis (1979) discovered an inverse relationship between teacher autonomy and program implementation; that is, the more choices teachers had, the less likely they were to implement an innovation as it was intended. For many teachers, the costs of implementing an innovation are too high compared to the benefits they may derive.

The case studies also provided evidence that factual information (content) was more likely to be infused than the instructional strategies that characterize LRE. Other research bears on this observation. Goodlad and Klein (1970), McNair and Joyce (1978-79), and Galton and Simon (1980) found that the majority of teacher time and attention is devoted to teaching specific facts rather than skill or concept development. For many teachers, coverage of course material is their most important objective. Given this priority, it should not be surprising that some teachers are more comfortable adding a few additional bits of information to their collection than making significant changes in their normal teaching practices. The striking difference between LRE instructional strategies and typical classroom instructional practices reported by Goodlad (1984), Lightfoot (1984), and many others suggests that content is much more easily infused than are new teaching methods.

Early students of educational change tended to focus on the adoption process; they largely assumed that once an innovation was adopted, the hard work was done—the program would just somehow continue. Mandating was therefore assumed to be effective in producing change. Even a sophisticated analyst such as Matthew Miles (1983) suggested in his model of institutionalization that mandating can be an effective tool in producing administrative pressure to implement an innovation, thereby promoting a higher percentage of user involvement and subsequent institutionalization. However, the case study research suggested that mandating was relatively ineffective in producing institutionalization, at least without the provision of sufficient training and other resources. On the other hand, mandating was effective in promoting institutionalization when accompanied by training and resource support.

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Institutionalizing Law-Related Education: "Signposts" Derived from Eight Case Studies

by SSEC Staff

In 1987 the Social Science Education Consortium began a study, sponsored by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP), of institutionalization of LRE programs. The research was concerned with the following major questions: How do LRE programs become institutionalized? Are there general guidelines or procedures that might facilitate that process? Was infusion as an implementation strategy for LRE working in sponsored states? Were state projects effective in reaching a statewide audience?

Given the exploratory nature of this research, ethnographic case study methodology was deemed the most appropriate approach. Eight school district sites were identified in four states that had participated in the first two years of the OJJDP program. The case study sites were selected to provide diversity along four dimensions: (1) geographic location; (2) general demographic characteristics (i.e., rural, suburban, urban); (3) school district size; and (4) organizational base of the state LRE project. In addition, sites selected were "best case" situations (i.e., places in which we knew that LRE had gained a foothold in the local curriculum). All site visits were completed by the middle of April 1988. The final report was published in *Institutionalizing LRE Programs: Eight Case Studies* (SSEC, 1989).

The case study results cannot lay out a definitive institutionalization "road map" for all local and state LRE practitioners. Nevertheless, several signposts along that road can be outlined. Brief descriptions of some of these signposts are presented below.

LRE Program Characteristics

The nature of the innovation (i.e., materials, suggested teaching strategies, how these diverge from school district and teachers' norms, etc.) has an important impact on (1) the likelihood that the innovation will be adopted, (2) its being implemented as intended, and (3) its ultimately becoming part of the established curriculum. Since materials are often one of the most salient aspects of any innovation, the case study research reported here devoted particular attention to the impact of LRE materials during all phases of the change process. Because the use of resource persons and the inclusion of high-visibility events are important characteristics of many LRE programs, the case study research devoted attention to the influence of these program characteristics as well.

1. LRE Instructional Materials

- Some LRE teachers adapt materials to their particular needs. This situation is both promising and problematic. It is promising in the sense that many teachers have adapted LRE materials for many standard social studies courses; these adapted materials are potentially "infusible" in other places. It is problematic because the more LRE materials are adapted, the less likely they are to maintain their initial integrity, unless the adapting teachers are very well versed in the content and philosophy underlying the materials.
- Teachers perceived a dearth of available LRE materials, particularly for middle schools. Perhaps more important is the finding that the range of available LRE materials is either unknown to most teachers and/or not actually used by them.
- The case studies indicated that the availability of high-quality LRE instructional materials—those that generated high student interest, were easy to use, required little prep time, and were flexible—facilitated teacher interest in and use of LRE, as well as enhancing chances for program continuation.

2. Resource People

- LRE teachers value the use of outside resource persons despite such inhibiting factors as: (a) the time required to line them up; (b) their fear that resource persons are too busy; (c) the lack of a central organ to link teachers and appropriate resource persons; and (d) greater preparation time required to use resource people.

Teachers are more likely to call upon outside resource persons who are personally known to them.

- The ways outside resource persons were used in classrooms in the case study sites varied considerably. At some sites, use tended to decline as teachers became more experienced and felt more comfortable with LRE content. This finding suggests that some teachers are relying on resource persons for content expertise rather than for the bonding opportunities the use of these people presents.

3. High-Visibility Events

- Such high-visibility events as mock trials, Law Day, and police ride-alongs have been a positive influence in many local sites—by maintaining enthusiasm, community support, and student, parent, and teacher involvement in LRE. However, these events are sometimes viewed by local participants as "the entire LRE program."
- High-visibility events must be seen in the context of a cost/benefit calculus—they appear to be worth doing if the administrative and community support generated is translated to support for the academic LRE program and if the gains made in teacher enthusiasm outweigh the work and expenditure of resources involved. Not surprisingly, teachers are most interested in such events when they provide a financial reward. Even a small sum signals district commitment.
- High-visibility events tend to dissipate over time if left solely to teachers without district (or other) support and coordination.

School District Characteristics

Characteristics of host school districts and even those of individual school buildings within districts exert a decisive influence on the change process and institutionalization. These characteristics include (1) organizational route/power and decision-making patterns; (2) political considerations; (3) receptive versus rejecting atmosphere; (4) reputation of the LRE program and its advocates; and (5) sources and kinds of program support. While these characteristics primarily focus on the awareness and adoption phases of change, the success of efforts to institutionalize LRE programs also depends on decisions made during the growth and maintenance phases of the change process.

1. Organizational Route/Decision-Making Traits

- There are a variety of ways to get LRE in local districts' curricula. Grass-roots innovation can work, just as a top-down model of administrator initiative can. LRE leaders must be prepared to adapt to local needs and the ways school districts generally conduct their business. Following established procedures for introducing new courses or programs into the district curriculum facilitated the inclusion of LRE, particularly in larger districts. It is highly desirable for LRE to become part of the textbook and curriculum revision cycles of local districts.
- *Leadership is a key*—whether the leader is a teacher, principal, or central office person. The role of the leader and kind of leadership (including the position in the district from which this person is recruited) must be consonant with the results expected and the size and complexity of the school district.
- Many of the local LRE programs surveyed in these case studies grew incrementally, often without a clear vision of the change process or the end state they were striving for (although they did have a consistent philosophy that guided development). Most began before much was generally known about the process of change. For new programs, the case studies suggest that preliminary planning should not only look at short-term issues, but also longer term ones—such as planning for long-term program maintenance.

2. Political Considerations

- The research suggests that there are potential political problems lurking at virtually every turn: issues of "turf," of protocol, and of organizational procedures must be anticipated and carefully handled.
- LRE advocates must be sensitive to school district "bells and whistles," whether positive (i.e., responsive to districts' perceived needs) or negative (i.e., not forming outside advisory boards and the like, when those might be threatening to the district power structure). In some districts, advisory boards helped lobby for LRE with the school board, among other things.

3. Receptive Versus Rejecting Atmosphere

- Timing seems to be an important feature of securing school district participation in LRE. One must be alert to where local districts are with respect to their curriculum and training cycles. In addition, if those most receptive to change are already involved in other relatively new programs, they are unlikely to participate in additional new programs. This may suggest the collection of pre-selection data to identify districts, buildings, and individual teachers who may be "hungry" for a new, relevant program.

- Districts respond best to LRE if they perceive an explicit need for the innovation or it helps district personnel solve some perceived problem. Initial interest in LRE in many of the districts studied began in the late 60s and early 70s, when the educational climate was generally conducive to innovation and experimentation. Needless to say, the general climate has changed. Advocates today must discover what districts are concerned about and how LRE can help meet those concerns. Many have done exactly that by tailoring LRE to the climate of the times—by using an at-risk kids theme; newly-arrived immigrants theme; war-on-drugs theme.

- Other relevant features of the current educational environment are the "crowded curriculum" and the many demands being placed on the schools. We found that teachers are sometimes casual about implementing LRE when they feel overwhelmed by demands on their time. LRE program leaders appear to be more successful in convincing a school district or an individual teacher to include LRE when they are able to make concrete suggestions about what to delete and what to include or to offer training conducive to these ends.

- LRE advocates can influence the general educational climate by informing the community at large about what they are doing, by securing newspaper coverage of visible events, or by making certain that parents and the school board know what is going on in the LRE program.

4. Reputation of the LRE Program

- When the *advocates* of LRE are widely respected by their colleagues and when they have access to district resources, LRE programs are more likely to succeed.

5. Sources and Kinds of Support

- The networks of superintendents, curriculum specialists, outside resource persons, and school boards are important networks to *mobilize*. Any LRE project of any size and longevity must cultivate *advocates* within the target district.

- The absence of ongoing, secure funding tends to diffuse the energies of LRE programs as they attempt to mold their programs to meet the priorities of outside funders. While it seems almost a truism to say that continued support from inside the district is necessary for program maintenance, many perceived ongoing support from outside the school district to be critically important to the maintenance of LRE programs.

- Perhaps it is helpful to view any educational program as a closed system subject to the principle of entropy—the tendency of a system to lose energy and become chaotic. If left unattended, an LRE program will deteriorate over time. This tendency necessitates continuous training of both new teachers and veterans, ongoing acquisition of new materials, and involvement of new resource persons.

Social Climate

While most program decisions are made by those inside the educational systems with minimal community input, schools are instruments of the public and operate within and are affected by the culture and perceived problems of their surrounding communities. Because of their close ties to the justice system and other community persons, LRE programs are often able to generate more community interest and input than other instructional efforts.

- At several times during the past 25 years, the social environment was such that teachers and communities became concerned with social breakdown and law and order—both of which were in some measure addressed by LRE. These concerns seem to remain prevalent today in many communities.

- LRE has also been seen by many persons to address such other needs as helping overcome the apathy of young people, enhancing opportunities for young people's bonding to the social and legal systems, and enhancing young persons' critical thinking skills.

- Some LRE advocates have supported the innovation in order to showcase their programs, districts, or communities—a community pride dimension.

Individual Characteristics

While viewing organizational change from a systems point of view is important, it is also necessary to look at individuals within those systems. To a certain extent, organizational change is dependent upon changing the perspectives and behaviors of people within the organization.

- Teachers seem to "buy into" LRE for several reasons: (a) comfort with strategies and approaches; (b) congruence with instructional objectives; (c) personal interest in the law; (d) desire for improved social control; and (e) student interest in the LRE program. To a certain extent, the reverse is also true: teachers may be repelled because (a) they are uncomfortable with the strategies and approaches; (b) they are not aware of LRE's congruence with their instructional objectives; or (c) advocates have not properly tapped their interest. Personal circumstances ("I'm the new basketball coach," "My wife just had a baby") also influence buy-in.
- Individual teacher ownership of the LRE innovation enhances the extent and intensity of commitment to LRE. The key to buy-in seems to be *involvement*. The more closely involved teachers are in the LRE program—in writing curriculum, analyzing materials, conducting training—the greater their buy-in and commitment.
- Teachers at different stages of involvement with LRE have different concerns and needs. Teachers new to LRE seem to be most concerned about classroom logistics; as they become more comfortable with the innovation, they generally exhibit a widening scope of interest in LRE.
- Substantially more training is required for teachers relatively indifferent to active instructional strategies or LRE content. If recognizable LRE—active strategies, community involvement—is sought, a certain degree of resocialization through training is required. The need for significantly larger resources for training "unreceptive" teachers raises serious questions about infusing LRE into existing courses whose instructors seem, by and large, to be unreceptive.

Manner of Implementation

The manner in which an innovation is introduced and implemented has a major bearing on its success. This topic is incredibly complex, but the present study suggests that (1) training and follow-up support and (2) decisions about infusion, electives, and mandating had profound implications for institutionalization.

1. Training and Support

- There is little question about the importance of training in LRE. Depth of training and programs that emphasize training the same teachers several times in an upward spiral of sophistication are more effective than widespread, one-time training. Training that "took" promoted long-term, intense involvement of participants. In addition, high-quality training was participatory and was characterized by the modeling of expected teacher behaviors. Finally, high-quality training was characterized by significant follow-through components.
- School systems and educational programs are dynamic processes. Teachers, building administrators, and central district personnel are constantly moving, changing assignments, retiring. Consequently, continuous training is needed to adequately prepare people new to the LRE program. In addition, continuous training is important to maintain the enthusiasm and skills of the practitioners who continue in their LRE assignments.
- The development of cadres of LRE advocates through training seems to be important for beginning the innovation in newly-interested districts. The level of effort here seems to depend on the scope of the envisioned change—whether, for example, *all* fifth-grade teachers will infuse a specified number of LRE lessons. Promoting networks of LRE teachers—on a local, state, and national basis—is important in overcoming the inertial dynamics of many schools.

- The use of teachers and resource persons as co-trainers in all training events can have positive effects. Involving teachers in local training strengthened the commitment of these individuals to LRE. In addition, teachers as trainers often have great credibility with other teachers. In other instances, however, teachers as co-trainers met some collegial resistance of the "what does that guy know that I don't" variety. Moreover, many teachers were attracted to LRE training when nationally visible advocates of LRE made presentations. Thus, while nurturing the development of cadres of local LRE advocates and practitioners is critical, continued involvement of outside experts may also be important.
- Mentoring, if implemented as an explicit strategy of staff development, can be an effective training technique. However, this strategy was found in a limited number of cases.
- The nature of LRE training should be different for those preparing to teach a separate LRE course as compared to those who will infuse LRE lessons, units, or modules in other courses.
- Not every teacher can be trained or expected to adopt LRE strategies in the classroom. Perhaps more time should be spent on determining those who are truly receptive to LRE, especially with respect to interactive strategies.

2. *Infusion, Electives, and Mandating*

- If the purpose of infusion is to expose all students to LRE, it is not achieving that purpose. LRE advocates tend to infuse LRE in virtually all their courses in which LRE is consonant with course objectives; other teachers do not. All teachers of a particular course will not infuse the same amount and quality of LRE without the commitment of massive resources for training and resocialization.
- Because of content fit and teachers' educational objectives and interests, some courses seem to be more promising for LRE infusion than others—government is a more likely target than United States or world history. Teachers believed that infusion could be enhanced if they were given guidance as to what to delete or how to combine instructional objectives to make room for the LRE lessons/units. Elementary teachers are relatively more receptive to LRE infusion when they see it as assisting them in their efforts to socialize students into school and group life.
- Materials of relatively short duration (i.e., one to three lessons) appear to be easier to infuse than longer or more complicated units. The content of LRE, rather than the strategies, appears to be more easily infused.
- There is increasing competition for curricular space. As it becomes more difficult to launch new courses, other advocacy groups (e.g., economics and geography) are turning to infusion as the vehicle for incorporating their special interests into the curriculum. LRE advocates need to be familiar with these programs.
- Many supervisory social studies personnel continue to view infusion as the only means of providing LRE to all students, despite their recognition that practice is falling short of goals.
- Mandating LRE is not a panacea. While in some cases mandating assures that LRE becomes part of the formal curriculum, the process also creates political enemies. In addition, there is a general perception that mandating can reduce the overall quality of LRE because teachers who are not interested in it are *forced* to teach it. To succeed in getting high-quality LRE in place, mandates must be accompanied by substantial resources for training and support. On the other hand, some districts believe that mandating LRE helps to assure its continued existence.
- Local LRE programs do not have to spring forth full-blown. One strategy was to first secure a venue for a non-mandated, semester-long elective course in LRE. While there is less room in the curriculum for such courses than was once the case, such an approach can give the innovation an incubation period and a safe place for testing new ideas.

B. OTHER RESEARCH ON LAW-RELATED EDUCATION

As anyone involved in the schools has discovered, the gatekeepers of school curriculum and instructional programs—teachers, administrators, parents, and private and public policymakers—want evidence that an innovation is better than competing new programs or those programs already in place. They want to know such things as what the potential comparative benefits to their students are; whether those benefits outweigh the costs of implementing a new program; what level of effort and resources is required to implement the program faithfully; and what is required to sustain the new program with integrity.

As its advocates readily admit, the research base for LRE is not as rich as they would like it to be (Skeel 1991; Naylor 1994). Still, education decision makers must use what is available to them. Moreover, there is a body of pertinent research that has focused specifically on LRE, and, as you will see in Section C, there is a substantial body of research in associated areas of educational practice that is, at least, suggestive about LRE.

This section begins with a descriptive review of research in law-related education prepared by James R. Giese of the Social Science Education Consortium. We then present two reviews that deal with law and the broader content area of civics and government. The first, written by Walter C. Parker and Theodore Kaltsounis of the University of Washington, looks at research on citizenship and LRE that is relevant to elementary school programs. The second review, prepared by John J. Patrick of Indiana University and John D. Hoge of the University of Georgia and originally published in the voluminous *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*, looks very broadly at research related to teaching government, civics, and law.

Readers will note that, because of the publication dates of the latter two articles, they do not discuss the standards movement, which is influencing the broader field of teaching civics and government in the 1990s. While the *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1994) have been reviewed in the professional literature, SSEC staff's research did not uncover any studies examining the effects of implementing the standards on teaching and learning. Consequently, the standards are not evident in the descriptive review of research presented in the first item in the section either. When studies relating to the standards become available, we will add them to this review.

A Descriptive Review of LRE Research

by James R. Giese, Social Science Education Consortium

In developing this review of research, the Social Science Education Consortium staff tried to discover all research studies relating to LRE that had been conducted over the past two to three decades. The first line of inquiry drew on secondary research that has assessed the state of the art at several points in the past 10 years. In 1983, the National Law-Related Education Evaluation Program (NLREEP) produced an overview of prior research on the impact of LRE on students as part of the final report on a national evaluation of LRE. In 1991, Dorothy Skeel summarized the status of the research on LRE, one part of which concerned the impact of LRE on students. Both these studies used conventional scholarly sources—searching the ERIC database for every reference to LRE, searching Dissertation Abstracts and reviews of doctoral dissertations in the social studies, and reviews of scholarly journals in social studies and in education generally—to discover the state of the research.

The second line of inquiry consisted of a series of surveys of various organizations and networks involved in LRE. These surveys were conducted in early 1994. The first survey focused on the network of state LRE project directors. The second survey targeted U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Justice LRE and National Diffusion Network program grantees. The third survey focused on other researchers we believe to be active in this area. The fourth targeted the juvenile justice community (the latter will be reported in the second part of this compendium). Finally, in the past three months, SSEC staff has conducted extensive ERIC searches, secondary educational research literature reviews, and searches in Dissertation Abstracts to uncover research relating to LRE that may have been missed before or that may be of recent origin.

This descriptive review of research relating to LRE is organized into two parts. The first contains research studies devoted to the impact or effects of law-related education on students in school settings. The second section contains descriptions of studies relating to the process of implementing LRE in classrooms/schools.

1. The Effects of Law-Related Education on Students

Everyone wants students to achieve some important learning outcomes as a result of their schooling—**to know** something, **to be able to do** something, and **to feel** one way or another about something when they complete their school courses. Evidence of the positive impact of LRE on students is therefore fundamental. If this evidence is lacking, then other research—how LRE programs are implemented, or how many school districts actually offer LRE elective courses, or to what extent LRE is infused into the ongoing curricula of the nation's schools—is largely beside the point.

The studies included in this section are arranged according to grade level. Within each grade level designation, the studies are arranged chronogically.

A. LRE at the Elementary Level

Joseph, H. (1980). *The Development of a Curriculum Model for the Teaching of Law-Related Education for the Sixth Grade*. Doctoral Dissertation. Temple University.

Joseph developed and field-tested a curriculum in law and legal concepts for sixth-graders. One urban and one suburban classroom participated in an eight-week unit focusing on the concepts of liberty, justice, and equality. In addition, the curriculum model also included experiential teaching strategies for exploring the three LRE concepts. These strategies included mock trials, simulations, case study analysis, and role playing. The study concluded that a LRE curriculum can be developed for sixth-graders that incorporates knowledge building, value analysis, and moral and legal reasoning skills—sixth-graders can conceptualize the ideas of liberty, justice, and equality. Further, Joseph recommended that social studies educators examine utilizing LRE strategies and content to improve traditional civics instruction and that they explore the possible advantages of introducing LRE curriculum and instruction in the elementary grades.

Jacobson, M., and S. Palonsky. (1981). "Effects of a Law-Related Education Program." *Elementary School Journal*. 82: 49-57.

This study analyzed the impact of a carefully developed and regularly implemented program of LRE instruction for fifth- and sixth-grade students. Their study was designed to test three hypotheses: (1) significant positive change in student attitudes toward the law would occur when students were exposed to an LRE program as compared with control group students; (2) knowledge of the law and legal concepts would be significantly enhanced for students exposed to the LRE program; and (3) the change in attitude would be positively correlated with changes in knowledge. The researchers discovered that gains in legal concepts (knowledge) favored the LRE students. They also reported changes in the desired direction in fifth- and sixth-grade students' attitudes toward the law, legal processes, crime, criminals, and punishment. Jacobson and Palonsky nevertheless found virtually no association between knowledge of legal concepts and positive attitudes among LRE students. They concluded that the students who learned the most about the law were not necessarily those who developed more favorable attitudes toward the law.

Picard, R. (1984). *The Effects of Justice Education on the Attitudes and Knowledge of Elementary School Children Regarding the Justice System.* Doctoral Dissertation. Temple University.

The purpose of Picard's study was to evaluate the Justice Education Teaching Strategies (JETS), an elementary LRE program developed by the Pennsylvania Department of Education. The research question was: can a six-week JETS program significantly increase knowledge of the justice system and effect positive changes in student attitudes toward the justice system. Two classes at each of grades 4-6 comprised the experimental groups included in the study, while one class at each grade level served as control groups. The teachers in the experimental group received two hours of inservice training on the JETS materials. Based on pre- and posttests of knowledge and attitudes, the JETS program significantly increased the students' knowledge of the justice system and their attitudes toward that system compared to the control groups.

Van Decar, P. (1984). *The Effect of Law-Related Education on Students' Attitudes and Knowledge About Authority and the Legal System.* Doctoral Dissertation. Vanderbilt University, George Peabody College for Teachers.

Van Decar's doctoral research produced findings similar to the Jacobson and Palonsky study cited above. Van Decar found that LRE increased students' knowledge of authority and the legal system, their sense of efficacy, and their ability to critically examine legal issues from a variety of perspectives. Sixth- and ninth-grade students exposed to LRE were more likely than comparison students to hold authorities accountable to standards of responsible conduct, to stress positive rather than prohibitive functions of the legal system, and to have conceptions of active citizen participation and their own roles within the legal system.

Markowitz, A. (1986). *The Impact of Law-Related Education on Elementary School Children in Reducing Delinquent Behavior.* Doctoral Dissertation. Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey.

Markowitz's doctoral research tried to determine whether increased knowledge of the law can have a positive impact on the social attitudes and behavior patterns of children in grades 2, 3, and 4. There was some indication of a positive impact on children's attitudes toward authority and justice in the second grade. Fourth-graders showed some improvement of behavior, but without corresponding changes in their attitudes. Traditional didactic teachers seemed to yield greater knowledge gains while non-traditional teachers appeared to foster improved student attitudes and behaviors.

B. LRE at the Junior High and Middle School Level

Hoffman, M., and D. German. (1973). *Youth and the Law: An Evaluation of the Effects of the Introduction of Legal Materials on Youth Attitudes and Cognitions*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Law Enforcement Assistance Administration.

Hoffman and German studied seventh- and eighth-grade students who had been exposed to LRE (in the form of a booklet prepared by the North Carolina Attorney General's office). Their research indicated that these students became more knowledgeable about the state's laws than students who did not receive the LRE program. Hoffman and German also reported that students who received the booklet became more positive than comparison students in their attitudes toward police and the law, but **less** supportive of constitutional rights.

Johnson, G. and R. Hunter. (1987). *Using School-Based Programs to Improve Students' Citizenship in Colorado: A Report to Colorado Educators*. Denver, CO: The Colorado Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Council.

Following the national evaluation reported in Section A of this compendium, Center for Action Research staff provided training for teams from Colorado schools made up of building administrators, teachers, and police. These weeklong training programs focused on implementing a course that incorporated the features identified in the national study as providing more effective LRE.

Results at four of the five schools were favorable. In the cases of two schools in which students were randomly assigned to semester-long LRE classes and control (traditional civics) classes, the results both on attitude dimensions linked to delinquency prevention theory and on self-reported delinquent behavior were extremely positive. At a third school, fewer classroom hours were devoted to LRE; while results were generally positive, the differences between LRE and control students were smaller and observed on fewer variables than at the two schools mentioned above. At the fourth school, a shortened questionnaire was administered due to students' poor reading skills. LRE students had more favorable results than controls on five of seven theory-based dimensions; the LRE students also showed moderate reductions in their frequency of committing six of 11 types of delinquent acts assessed.

The fifth school implemented LRE as the result of a district-level decision and the district retained control of the LRE program during implementation; little positive effect resulted from the LRE course, which observations showed did not reflect the features identified as critical in the national study and presented at the weeklong training.

Hunter and Johnson concluded that the recommendations from the national study appeared appropriate. Where the features were verified by observers as being present in classrooms, the LRE courses produced measured improvements. They also noted that while district support for LRE was important, district control was a negative for program success. Further, they observed that when a specific topic was the focus of effective LRE lessons (e.g., vandalism), self-reports of that behavior decreased to a greater degree than in classes where the topic was not specifically covered. Finally, Hunter and Johnson concluded that "with suitable training, any school can do it [LRE] right. In Colorado, effective implementation of LRE has occurred in suburban, rural, and inner-city schools—including those serving a variety of ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds and at least one having a high proportion of slow readers."

Fernlund, P. M. (1992). *Perspectives on Law and Government: A Study of Eighth-Graders*. Unpublished paper. Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium.

Fernlund looked at how eighth-grade students relate information from formal study of the Constitution into their personal knowledge about society and government. Two instruments were used to tap political cognition at a deeper level than measured by survey instruments: conceptual maps and interviews based on a hypothetical scenario. Results of the study indicated that conceptual maps are useful tools for assessing conceptual understanding, although multiple measures are required to get a complete picture of student understandings. Students' conceptions of such concepts as democracy were influenced by prior experience; many students' conceptions did become more developed after instruction on the Constitution. However, Fernlund concluded that students need assistance in integrating the formal curriculum with their preexisting knowledge structures.

Avery, P., K. Bird, S. Johnstone, J. Sullivan, and K. Thalhammer. (1992). *Do All of the People Have All of the Rights All of the Time? Exploring Political Tolerance with Adolescents*. Unpublished paper. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota, Center for Applied Research and Educational Improvement.

Avery and her associates developed and tested a curriculum that had students explore the linkages among democratic values, legal principles, and their application to unpopular groups in U.S. society. Their analysis demonstrated a statistically significant increase in political tolerance and found those increases to be directly related to increases in student knowledge. Student responses to open-ended items suggested that increases in political tolerance are due to a greater awareness of individual rights, while decreases in tolerance may be attributed to concerns for public safety.

These findings are important, given that most prior research on political socialization had suggested that traditional formal civics curriculum has had limited impact on students' civic attitudes (e.g., Ehman 1980) and political tolerance—the willingness to acknowledge the civil liberties of those with whom one disagrees. Other researchers working in the mid-1970s (e.g., Zellman 1975; Goldenson 1978), however, suggested that civics courses treated democratic norms in too abstract a fashion, that those values were not sufficiently linked to real-world political situations to have any impact on student attitudes. They theorized that classrooms that linked democratic values to political realities might increase students' levels of political tolerance. This study helps confirm this notion. See Avery (1998) for an extended review of the research literature on political tolerance.

Gruenhagen, K., and B. Leslein. (1993). "Using Law-Related Education as a Lifeline for Rural At-Risk Students." In D. Montgomery, ed. *Rural America: Where All Innovations Begin*. Conference Proceedings (Savannah, GA, March 11-13).

Project NEXUS, a rural Appalachian program designed to address dropout prevention and pre-delinquent factors among students, was implemented in Ellijay (Georgia) Middle School. A group of 25 students, chosen because of discipline referrals or other risk factors, were invited to join the program. Fifteen to eighteen attended weekly meetings throughout the program's first year. Community resource persons participated in the meetings. The NEXUS program also featured field experiences, including such things as juvenile hearings in teen court and local court room observations. Teachers of the NEXUS students reported student improvement in classroom participation, cooperation with the teacher, and attendance. Virtually all students made positive comments about the program.

C. LRE at the High School Level

Donovan, D. (1975). *Turning Students on to Active Citizenship*. Pittman, NJ: Institute for Political and Legal Education.

Donovan compared a group of students who were exposed to an LRE course with students who did not take an LRE course. Donovan found that law-related knowledge gains favored the experimental students. Donovan also explored one measure of student attitudes and found that LRE students had greater desire to become involved in government than those who did not take the course.

Denton, J., and J. Kracht. (1976). *Final Evaluation Report of Teacher Training Projects*. Unpublished Report. Dallas, TX: Law in a Changing Society.

This study compared the knowledge gains of students who took an LRE course taught by trained teachers with students who took a LRE course taught by untrained teachers. These researchers found that students taught by trained teachers learned significantly more than those whose teachers were not trained.

Nelson, E. (1979). *Final Evaluation of the "Criminal Justice in the Classroom Project."* Unpublished Report. Tempe, AZ: Tempe Union High

School and the Arizona State University Center for Criminal Justice.

Nelson compared students who were exposed to LRE with others who were not so exposed. Nelson found that the LRE students had greater knowledge gains than the comparison group. Nelson also found no direct LRE program effects on high school students' attitudes.

Carroll, J., E. Nelson, and N. Eisenberg-Berg. (1980). *Law-Related Education: Assessing Adolescents' Knowledge and Attitudes*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Boston.

Carroll and his colleagues assessed the relationships between existing levels of law-related knowledge (obtained from any source, not necessarily an LRE course) and several attitude variables among students in Arizona high schools. The researchers reported a significant negative correlation between law-related knowledge and authoritarian attitudes and a significant positive correlation between law-related knowledge and both legal-social responsibilities and educational expectations.

Fraser, B. and D. Smith. (1980). "Impact of Law-Related Education Materials on Student Cognitive and Affective Outcomes." *The Social Studies*. 71 (3): 139-42.

The purpose of this evaluation was to assess the impact of the High School Education Law Project (HELP) in Australian high schools (largely in Sidney). The evaluation looked at two primary student measures—cognitive and affective domains. Usable responses were obtained from 224 students in the experimental group (in nine schools) and from 96 students in a control group. Fraser and Smith found statistically significant differences in favor of the experimental group on cognitive measures (with entry-level achievement controlled) on 15 of 16 cognitive measures. In addition, the evaluators found that students of higher IQ outperformed students of lower IQ on the cognitive criterion test. With respect to measures of student attitudes, the evaluators initially found few suitable tests for the purpose relative to LRE. Thus, Fraser and Smith created their own attitude test. In the end, the experimental group significantly outperformed the control group on one of five attitude measures (i.e., the "influenceability of law"—the extent to which the public can influence the making and nature of laws). There were no significant differences between the two groups on the other four (i.e., judges are "normal" people; students enjoy their law studies; the law is ever-changing; the extent to which the law is understandable).

Fielding, G., E. Kameenui, and R. Gersten. (1983). "A Comparison of an Inquiry and a Direct Instruction Approach to Teaching Legal Concepts and Applications to Secondary School Students." *Journal of Educational Research*. 76 (5): 287-93.

High school students were taught a two-week unit on the constitutional rights of youth. Five groups of students received a direct instruction treatment and five groups received an inquiry treatment. Students in the groups receiving direct instruction scored significantly higher on both a multiple-choice test and an essay test requiring the application of what was learned about constitutional principles to unfamiliar cases. On the other hand, students receiving inquiry instruction scored significantly higher on an essay test requiring the expression of personal opinions on policy issues underlying the studied cases. Furthermore, an attitude questionnaire indicated that students in the inquiry groups found the content more challenging than the students receiving direct instruction.

Harwood, A.M. (1990). *The Effects of Close Up Participation on High School Students' Political Attitudes*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, Boston, April.

Harwood looked at the effects of participating in Close Up's experiential program on high school students' attitudes toward political institutions and on their political behavior. Georgia students participating in Close Up's one-week on-site program in Washington, DC, were randomly selected for participation. The 58 experimental subjects were compared with 113 control subjects. The data indicated that the Close Up experience increased positive feelings toward government and stimulated political participation.

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Ford, L. (1991). *The United States Political System: Adolescent Perceptions and the Role for Citizenship Education.* Doctoral Dissertation. University of Maryland, College Park.

Ford's research rested on the following assumption: high school civics classes have been found only marginally effective in transmitting a participatory civic culture to students and those students report that American government and politics is "boring." As adults, therefore, these young people are likely to be citizen spectators. Her research therefore investigated the possible differences between students who completed a traditional classroom-based civics course with other students who completed a CloseUp Foundation Washington Focus Week in addition to a traditional civics course. The results indicated that the experimental group exhibited slightly higher political efficacy, lower trust of government, and were more likely to be involved in their school culture as well as in some political activities. In addition, a subsample of survey participants were interviewed and were presented with hypothetical political dilemmas. The experimental group tended to develop more complex solutions to the problems and dilemmas posed, more accurately reflecting the existing political structure. On the other hand, politics seemed to remain uninteresting to all the adolescents surveyed.

Johnson, G. (1992). *Evaluation of Street Law Classes at Four American High Schools in Germany.* Unpublished report. Boulder, CO: University of Colorado, Center for Action Research.

The *Street Law* instructional program implemented in four Department of Defense Dependent Schools (DODDS) in Germany was the focus of this study. Students taking a semester-long *Street Law* course were compared to students who did not take this course. The results favored the experimental students (i.e., the *Street Law* students) on 10 of 20 measures of knowledge and attitudes and favored the control students on **none** of these measures. Among those measures showing the largest effect sizes were (1) knowledge of the law, (2) enthusiasm toward school and classes, (3) timely preparation and completion of assignments, (4) belief that students were treated fairly in school, and (5) perceived opportunity to demonstrate competence in school.

Social Studies Development Center. (1993). *An Evaluation of the Instructional Effects of the We the People... The Citizen and the Constitution Program.* Unpublished report. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University, Social Studies Development Center.

The researchers conducting this study compared high school students who studied the Constitution and Bill of Rights in government and civics classes using traditional textbooks with students participating in the We the People... program and who used that program's text *With Liberty and Justice for All*. It demonstrated that students who participated in the We the People... program scored significantly higher on a test of knowledge than did the students in more traditional classes. The results of this study conformed to findings of several previous studies conducted by the Educational Testing Service.

Brody, R. (1994). *Secondary Education and Political Attitudes: Examining the Effects of Political Tolerance on the We the People... Curriculum.* Unpublished paper. Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education.

Brody's study was designed to determine the degree to which civics curricula in general, and the We the People... program in particular, affect students' political attitudes. Brody found that students in high school civics, government, and U.S. history classes display more political tolerance (defined as citizens' respect for the political rights and civil liberties of all people in the society, including those whose ideas they may find distasteful or abhorrent) than the average American. He also found that students in classes using all or part of the We the People... curriculum were more tolerant than comparison students using other curricula because it promotes higher levels of self-confidence and the perception of fewer limits on students' own political freedoms. Finally, Brody found that among students exposed to the We the People... program, those involved in the simulated congressional hearing competitions demonstrated the highest levels of political tolerance. Brody's study is also important in terms of the research conducted on political socialization and political tolerance (e.g., see Avery et al. 1992).

Butler, J. (1995). *Effect of Different Classroom Practices on the Development of Political Attitudes in High School Students.* Doctoral Dissertation. Peabody College for Teachers, Vanderbilt University.

The purpose of Butler's study was to investigate the effect of two kinds of classroom practices on the political attitudes of high school students. Specifically, Butler looked at whether there was a difference between students who studied the U.S. Constitution in traditional classrooms (i.e., those in which lecture was the dominant instructional strategy) compared to those who studied the topic in more active classrooms (i.e., those using the We the People... curriculum, small group activities, critical thinking exercises, and performance assessment). Surveys concerning attitudes about participation, efficacy, and trust were administered to students (N=176) in three high schools. One experimental group was dropped because classroom observations indicated the instruction was similar to the control classrooms. Results indicated that students in the experimental classes were more willing to participate, were more efficacious, and were more trusting of the political system. It should be noted, however, that the students in the experimental group had significantly higher grade point averages than those in the control groups. Butler also found that there were no significant differences based on gender. There were important differences based on race, especially on the scales measuring participation and efficacy. There was no difference based on race on measures of trust.

D. LRE at Multiple Grade Levels

Jacobson, M. (1979). *An Application of Guttman Facet Design to the Measurement of the Law-Related Attitudes of Selected Elementary, Junior High School, and Juvenile Offender Populations.* Doctoral Dissertation. Michigan State University.

The primary purpose of Jacobson's study was to contribute to the design and methodology of LRE evaluation. The study had three major objectives: (1) to develop an instrument (using the Guttman-Jordan facet design) to assess student attitudes toward the law; (2) to apply that instrument to the law-related attitudes of several youth populations; and (3) to investigate the correlates of those attitudes. Jacobson found the instrument to be a satisfactory measure of attitudes. He also found that positive attitudes toward the law decreased with the age of the population under investigation; that as the age of the population under study increased, knowledge of legal concepts also increased (although not extensive for any group); and that no significant differences could be found in attitudes based on either gender or socioeconomic differences. Finally, Jacobson concluded that elementary school students, when exposed to LRE instruction, displayed significantly higher gain scores in law-related attitudes and knowledge of legal concepts than did a control group.

Shaver, J. (1984). *The Law-Related Education Evaluation Project: A Methodological Critique of the "Impacts on Students" Findings.* Unpublished paper presented at the Rocky Mountain Regional Social Studies Conference, April.

In this paper, Shaver calls to task the first two years (1981-82) of the LRE evaluation study described in Section A (although it seems highly likely that Shaver's major complaints would apply to the third year report as well). At the outset, Shaver stipulates that educational evaluation in the real world makes such studies difficult under the best of circumstances. With that said, he describes in great detail what he believes are the major shortcomings of the national LRE evaluation studies. First was the issue of the reliability of using students' self-reports in trying to determine delinquent behavior (indeed, there have been widespread debates about this methodology). Second, Shaver was concerned about making cause-and-effect claims based on a quasi-experimental research design. Third, he raised questions about the size of the purported effects and the reports' uses of statistical significance. Fourth, Shaver criticized the report and study for its explicit "theory testing," claiming it therefore did not speak to the concerns of its ostensible audience—teachers and educational decision makers.

Hunter, R. (1987). "Law-Related Educational Practice and Delinquency Theory." *International Journal of Social Education.* 2(2): 52-63.

This article briefly reports the findings of the National Law-Related Education Evaluation Project described in Section A. One strength of this brief article is its explicit attention to the delinquency prevention theory that undergirds many LRE programs. A similar article is Hunter (1991).

Center for Action Research. (1994). *Project PRINCE: Evaluation of Impact on Students.* Boulder, CO: University of Colorado, Center for Action Research.

The primary objectives of this project are (1) to reduce the frequency of delinquent acts committed by students and (2) to increase the attitude and social antecedents to law-abiding behavior. Teams trained through Project PRINCE are expected to evaluate the program during its implementation locally. According to these evaluations, eighth- and ninth-grade students taught by teams of teachers and police officers show substantial gains in knowledge of the law and legal processes. In addition, compared to students in the same grades at the same schools (both urban and suburban) who are taught conventional civics, government, or social studies, the LRE students exhibit more favorable attitudes toward school, teachers, police, and law-abiding behavior and commit fewer delinquent acts in and out of school.

Gottfredson, D. (1990). "Changing School Structures to Benefit High-Risk Youth." In P. Leone, ed. *Understanding Troubled and Troubling Youth.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Gottfredson's research focused on three alternative approaches that schools had used to reduce delinquent behaviors of youths who were already at risk for engaging in such problem behaviors. She reported on three programs that had been part of the Delinquency Prevention Through Alternative Education Initiative, funded by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention between 1980 and 1983. The three programs were (1) a pull-out program, Project PATHE (Positive Action Through Holistic Education), implemented in seven secondary schools in Charleston, SC; (2) an alternative class, Project STATUS (Student Training Through Urban Strategies), implemented in one junior high school and one high school in Pasadena, CA; and (3) an alternative school, the Academy for Community Education (ACE) implemented in Miami, FL. By far the most effective of these models was the alternative class, which combined English, social studies, and a coordinated LRE curriculum. The instructional methods used in this class encouraged active participation (e.g., field experiences, outside resource persons, role plays and simulations). "In summary, the alternative class program was a successful treatment for reducing delinquent behavior. The positive effect appears to have resulted from an increase in attachment to school, a change in the balance of peer influence, and an increase in success experiences at school."

Carroll, J. (1992). *Report of Project LEGAL to National Diffusion Network.* Unpublished Report. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University, The Maxwell School.

Since 1976, Project LEGAL, housed at Syracuse University, has conducted evaluations of LRE infused into U.S. history courses. Over nearly two decades, these evaluations have consistently shown significant gains in student knowledge and critical thinking abilities for students in grades 5, 8, and 11 in rural, suburban, and urban school settings.

Colville, J. and Clarken, R. (1992). *Developing Social Responsibility Through Law-Related Education.* Unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, April 20-24.

This report describes the development of social responsibility among students using LRE. Social responsibility may be viewed as an essential part of citizenship education, an understanding of the basic democratic principles and values on which laws, government, and society are based. Three major aspects of LRE include expanding students' substantive knowledge and critical thinking skills, improving teacher preparation, and achieving significant changes in students' attitudes. The authors suggest that LRE programs can influence each of these concerns in a positive direction.

Branson, M. (1994). *What Does Research on Political Attitudes and Behavior Tell Us About the Need for Improving Education for Democracy.* Unpublished paper presented at the International

Conference on Education for Democracy, Malibu, California, October.

This paper assesses recent research on U.S. political attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors and what it suggests about improving education for democracy. Branson examines three surveys: (1) the annual Phi Delta Kappan/Gallup survey that looks at public attitudes toward the public schools; (2) the annual "American Freshman" report on attitudes and behaviors of first-time, full-time students attending U.S. colleges and universities; and (3) the most recent survey of the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press on the political beliefs and behaviors of the American public. Branson also examines several other studies that suggest that political attitudes can be influenced by what is taught in American schools (and how it is taught, as well).

Summary of the LRE Impact Studies

We conclude this descriptive report on LRE impact research with several observations. First, the overall quality of the studies reported here varies considerably. Several have achieved scientific, experimental designs (i.e., using matched experimental and control groups with students assigned randomly to those groups). On the other hand, many use quasi-experimental designs; these often have had difficulty achieving true random assignment of students to control and experimental groups.

Second, whatever the research design and regardless of grade level, virtually all the research reported here shows that LRE has a positive impact on student knowledge. Those studies that also investigate changes in attitudes and behavior also report positive changes in these two areas when experimental (LRE) students are compared to control groups of students not exposed to LRE.

Third, when trying to assess the meaning of the findings of these research studies, one must bear in mind the fact that many national studies (not reported here) of civic education in the United States paint a rather gloomy picture of most students' (and adults') civic knowledge. A similarly gloomy picture emerges from studies of Americans' beliefs in democratic values and attitudes.

Fourth, the majority of the studies included in this survey have not been published. The inclusion of doctoral dissertations accounts for part of this situation. In addition, many of the studies reported here have been the result of particular LRE programs' conducting self-evaluations (or having contracted with outside researchers and evaluators for the same purpose). One result is that many of these studies—regardless of the intrinsic merit—go unpublished and therefore remain unknown to the vast majority of educators, administrators, and other decision-makers. This is a lamentable situation for obvious reasons.

Fifth, we feel compelled to reiterate Skeel's (1991) complaint that there is not nearly as much research concerning law-related education as one might wish. Certainly what Skeel found to be the case in 1991 continues to be true today. Although the research findings consistently favor LRE treatment groups compared with their control groups, skeptics often counter that (1) the studies are flawed in one or more ways; (2) that the research is old or dated; or (3) there are simply too few studies in too few contexts to be persuasive.

Certainly, these concerns have merit. But whatever their merit, we must bear in mind the observations of educational researcher N.L. Gage (1978), who stated:

> The invulnerable piece of research in any field of the behavioral sciences is non-existent.... Thus the path to increasing certainty becomes not the single excellent study that is nonetheless weak in one or more respects, but the convergence of findings for many studies that are also weak, but in many different ways. The dissimilar or non-replicated weaknesses leave the replicated finding more secure. Where the studies do not overlap in their flaws but do overlap in their implications, the research synthesizer can begin to build confidence in those implications.

2. Research Related to Implementing LRE

The studies described in this section are highly varied, ranging from in-depth case studies on how LRE is implemented in classrooms and school districts to surveys of teachers' awareness or commitment to LRE to historical analyses of development of LRE within a state. Because the variation among the studies is so great, we have not attempted to organize them into subsections, nor have we attempted to summarize the research at the end of the section. The references are simply presented by date, with older studies first, followed by more recent works.

Wietig, P. (1979). *The Curricular Impact of Federal and State Programs in Law Related Education.* Doctoral Dissertation. State University of New York, Buffalo.

The major question of Wietig's study was: what is the curricular impact of select federal, state, and local programs on the development of law-related curricula for elementary and secondary schools? The study was based on surveys of teachers (4-12) and administrators in 20 school districts in western New York, districts that had been involved in the Western New York Consortium for Law Related Education. Among Wietig's findings were the following: (1) teachers and administrators had a positive view of what LRE could do for their students; (2) they thought that substantial amounts of teacher training were necessary to implement such curricula; (3) they thought that infusing LRE into the ongoing curricula was the most reasonable way to implement LRE in their respective schools and districts; (4) administrative support for LRE curricula varied widely and tended to focus on financial support and on helping to schedule electives or special programs; and (5) the Amherst Title IV-C Law Project had had a significant impact on developing LRE curriculum.

Byerly, M. (1980). *The Status of Law-Related Education in Indiana Elementary Schools.* Doctoral Dissertation. Indiana State University.

The purpose of Byerly's study was to determine the status of LRE in Indiana elementary schools. A survey questionnaire was completed by 309 elementary teachers (grades K-6) in 22 elementary schools throughout Indiana (two schools were randomly selected from each of Indiana's 11 Congressional Districts). The survey contained 11 questions, including such items as the extent to which the teachers were familiar with the term law-related education, the extent to which the teachers had taken courses that would help them teach LRE, their access to LRE materials, their use of certain materials, teaching strategies, and resource people, and so forth.

The data obtained from the survey indicated that most Indiana elementary teachers were not familiar with LRE, had no training in this area, had no access to LRE materials, and were not using LRE materials, teaching strategies, or resource persons. On the other hand, the teachers indicated that they thought certain LRE concepts were important, they did spend time in teaching certain of these concepts, they thought LRE should be a required part of their preservice teacher education programs, and they were interested in having more LRE training.

Knapp, P. (1983). *An Analysis of an Educational Innovation: Law-Related Education in New York State.* Doctoral Dissertation. University of Rochester.

Knapp's is basically a historical study of the development and evolution of LRE in New York state and a status report on LRE in New York around 1980. It concludes that LRE grew in New York because of the efforts of key individuals, the robust relationship between the New York State Bar Association and the New York Department of Education, and the social circumstances of the times (1960s and early 1970s). Because of the unique relationship between the aforementioned institutions, a number of LRE projects got started and became institutionalized. These projects, in turn, represent great diversity in approach and target population.

Pickle, C. (1983). *Teacher Ability to Implement Lesson Plan Components of a Law-Related Education Curriculum in Infusing Law Concepts into Regular Classes of American History and Economics.* Doctoral Dissertation. Peabody College for Teachers, Vanderbilt University.

Pickle's doctoral study investigated teachers' ability to implement lesson plans that infused law concepts into secondary economics and U.S. history classes. The primary index of the clarity and usefulness of the lesson plans was student performance on legal knowledge. Four classes were studied, three in economics and one in U.S. history (n=4 teachers and 114 students). Additionally, Pickle used a clinical supervision model, a familiar and customary practice in the school system, to assess teacher implementation of various lesson plan components. Using this design, the study showed that law concepts could be effectively infused by teachers into their ongoing curricula.

Hyland, J. (1985). *Teaching About the Constitution: Relationships Between Teachers' Subject Matter Knowledge, Pedagogic Beliefs, and Instructional Decision Making Regarding the Selection of Content, Materials, and Activities*. Doctoral Dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

Hyland's point of departure was the importance of the Constitution as the supreme law of the land and the apparent failure of American education to educate youth about its principles. Hyland therefore sought to answer the question: what do teachers know about the Constitution and what do they believe about teaching? The focus of the study was eighth-grade teachers. Hyland discovered that the teachers taught in distinctive ways, but were largely ineffective in achieving student understanding of the Constitution. He found the teachers to be familiar with general constitutional principles, but lacking the ability to provide examples and showing limited understanding of these principles. Selection of content was narrow in scope and not often linked with student capabilities. Moreover, the textbook usually determined the materials used in classes. The study concluded that teachers required both substantive knowledge of the Constitution and pedagogic skills appropriate for teaching adolescents.

Furey, S. (1986). *The Influence of Selected Organizational Variables on the Institutionalization of Law-Related Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools*. Doctoral Dissertation, Boston University.

Furey's study was designed to test a theoretical model of the relationship between selected organizational variables and institutionalization of LRE in public school settings. Furey's model proposed that the combined strength of curriculum integration, the frequency and depth of linkage, and the disposition of the school toward education innovation should affect the institutionalization of LRE in schools. The study was based on a mail-out survey; 56 schools actually responded to the survey. Statistical analysis was conducted on 40 of the 56, based on the supposed viability of the LRE programs in those schools. In the end, Furey found few statistically significant links between her theoretical model and how LRE was institutionalized in the schools that completed her survey.

Palmer, J. (1986). *A Study of Trends in Content and Methodology in the Teaching of Government in Secondary Schools in the United States, 1930-1980*. Doctoral Dissertation, Auburn University.

The primary purpose of Palmer's research was to examine trends in content and instruction used in teaching government in U.S. secondary schools in the half decade after 1930. It is largely a secondary research study, looking at a variety of other studies that have charted the ebb and flow of rationales for social studies generally and for the government course in particular. Palmer concludes that despite many attempts to change and improve secondary school government courses over time, curriculum and instruction actually changed very little. Furthermore, although government teachers have many options to choose from in organizing their courses, they have generally adhered to teaching facts and describing government institutions.

Cornett, J. (1987). *Teacher Personal Practical Theories and Their Influence Upon Teacher Curricular and Instructional Actions: A Case Study of a Secondary Social Studies Teacher*. Doctoral Dissertation, The Ohio State University.

Cornett's research investigated the relationship between a teacher's underlying beliefs about curriculum and instruction and actions in planning and implementing that curriculum and instruction. Specifically, this research addressed the following questions: (1) what does the teacher view as the explicit curriculum in the Problems of Democracy course? (2) what does the teacher view as her role in the development of the curriculum? and (3) what personal practical theories guide her instruction? The study was based on qualitative research.

Cornett found that several basic theories and sub-theories significantly influenced the teacher's action with respect to curriculum and instruction: while there was a significant degree of congruence between this teacher's basic beliefs (or theories) and her practice, there were also notable tensions as well; curriculum development was an isolated activity for this teacher and was viewed as appropriate when not done as a formal response to outside influences; the textbook served as the primary base for planning and for subsequent instruction; the teacher's planning clearly influenced what was taught; and student initiation was both accepted and encouraged.

Accongio, J., and B. Vaughan. (1987). "Evaluating Law-Related Education Programs: A Case Study." *International Journal of Social Education*, 2 (2): 69-78.

This article provides an overview of the School of Law and Government (magnet) program at Jefferson High School in Rochester, New York. It also describes a quasi-experimental design study of the program's effectiveness. The results of this study were used to revise the curriculum and to support needed staff development.

Hardin, J., and G. Johnson. (1991). *Teachers Speak Out on Law-Related Education: Summary Report on the SPICE IV National Teachers' Survey*. Winston-Salem, NC: Center for Research and Development in Law-Related Education (CRADLE).

The study reported here was a needs assessment of teachers of LRE and citizenship. Some 1,284 K-12 teachers responded to the survey. Among the findings were: (1) need for a clearer definition of LRE; (2) need for specialized training; and (3) need for better access to materials and resources. The survey results also provide information about the variety of LRE programs being implemented and the varying stages of institutionalization. The teachers also seem quite consistent in terms of the purported impact on students of LRE, including students becoming more interested in their studies, more interested and caring about important legal and ethical issues, and students learning to think for themselves.

Jacobson, M., and R. Lombard. (1992). "Law-Related Education and the Illinois Institute for Public Understanding About the Law." *Rural Research Report*, 3 (9).

This report examines the development of LRE in rural Illinois. Concerns about providing LRE in rural schools include geographic location and the inability of rural schools to pay for the programs. Even so, rural youth have as many or more problems as urban youth and could benefit as much from LRE. A survey conducted by the Illinois Institute for Public Understanding About the Law confirmed the low status of LRE in rural schools even though school administrators consistently commented that they would make LRE part of their schools' curriculum if they had the opportunity. The remainder of the report discusses various IIPUL activities designed for reaching rural schools (e.g., library loan of LRE materials and satellite programming and seminars).

Mitchell, R. (1992). *Testing for Learning: How New Approaches to Evaluation Can Improve American Schools*. New York: The Free Press.

To say that Mitchell was high on the evaluation process used in the We the People... competition would be an understatement. "The competition and preparation for it have lasting effects on the students' learning. Teachers assert that the knowledge learned from the curriculum and the competition is drawn on all year...." As one teacher put it, "Over and over they [students] refer back to such concepts as civic virtue or right to revolution in order to explain and put in context certain historical and modern events." Mitchell: "The competition has enormous potential as a model for the evaluation of history/social studies and government classes. It is the most imaginative and well-organized social studies assessment I know of—more impressive than current ideas at the state level. It promotes student responsibility for their own learning, makes teachers into guides rather than authorities, gives the subject a 'real life' importance for students, and allows the students to experience a stimulation of healthy risk.... 'That was the worst thing I've ever had to do, and the best,' said one student. The mystery is why 'We the People…' has not been seized as a model. The evaluation is faithful to the intent of social studies and government: understanding the Constitution's origins, how it works, and its application today…. If a model such as the 'We the People…' competition were adopted and community members became expected members of evaluation teams, the schools would go a long way to solving their public relations problems…."

O'Brien, J. (1992). *An Analysis of the Relationship Between the Federal Government and National Law-Related Education Projects, 1962-1987.* Doctoral Dissertation, University of Virginia.

O'Brien's is an historical study of the relationship between federal government funding sources and select national LRE projects. He organizes the 25-year focus of his study in three periods, which are distinguished by differing rationales and approaches to LRE as well as by the prevailing sources of federal funds. The programs, instructional materials, publications, and professional services of the national organizations are analyzed in terms of these prevailing rationales and federal funding sources in each of the three time periods.

McBee, R. (1993). *Demistifying [sic] Research in Education and the Social Sciences: A Primer for LRE Folks.* Unpublished paper (ERIC number: ED 381481).

McBee's article argues that the LRE community should understand education research methods better to demonstrate to policy makers and funders the value of LRE and to evaluate alternative educational strategies. The article deals with research procedures and reporting formats, quantitative and qualitative research designs, experimental and non-experimental designs, and so forth.

King, B. (1994). *Teaching for Thinking and Citizenship Education: Examining the Constitution of Student-Citizens in Secondary Social Studies.* Doctoral Dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

The purpose of King's research was to examine the association between teaching for higher order thinking and the notion of a socially transformative citizenship in 12 social studies classrooms (in four secondary schools). The study found that a commitment to classroom thoughtfulness on the part of teachers did not necessarily translate into thoughtful treatment of civic content. For many teachers in this study, teaching for thinking and citizenship for the most part involved the transmission of knowledge, not higher order or critical thinking. In addition, although some teachers embraced a multicultural perspective, they tended simply to add more content about underrepresented groups to an already jam-packed curriculum. The study suggests that pedagogy appropriate to higher order thinking probably necessitates a shift away from traditional instruction in the social studies.

Wolff, R. (1994). *South Dakota Principals' Perceptions About, Attitudes Toward, and Knowledge of Law-Related and Civic Education Practices in Their Schools.* Doctoral Dissertation, University of South Dakota.

The overall purpose of the study is reflected in its title. A survey was sent to all school principals (in public and Bureau of Indian Affairs schools) and was returned by 71 percent of the recipients. The findings included the following: (1) the principals' perception of LRE well matched the goals and definitions as set by national LRE organizations; (2) their idea of civic education reflected a transmission rather than participatory model of instructional goals; (3) 84 percent believed that some form of civic/LRE was being taught in their school; (4) their teachers infrequently used specific law-related teaching strategies; (5) the principals placed more importance on teaching law and civics at high school than at the elementary level.

Wolowiec, J., ed. (1994). *LRE Research: A Status Report. Technical Assistance Bulletin No. 8.* Chicago, IL: American Bar Association Special Committee on Youth Education for Citizenship.

This bulletin begins with an article by David Naylor, "Research and Law-Related Education: Perceptions, Perspectives, and Possibilities," which examines five categories of questions important to LRE research. These include: (1) what is the nature and status of LRE? (2) what impact does LRE have on the lives of students? (3) what is needed to teach LRE effectively? (4) how should teachers be prepared to teach LRE? (5) what is required to get and keep LRE in school programs? In addition, Naylor explores what function research can (and must) provide. The remainder of this bulletin examines summaries of some of the LRE research in progress and proposals for several other LRE research studies.

Neisler, O. (1995). *Inside Social Studies at Castleton High: Young Citizens Discuss Their Citizenship Education.* Doctoral Dissertation. Syracuse University.

The focus of this qualitative research was on high school students' perspectives about the materials, information, activities, and interactions they experience in their social studies courses. Data were collected via classroom observations, in-depth interviews with students, analysis of classroom materials, and the school newspaper. The findings concern three areas of high school social studies (especially citizenship education). First, students reported they were bored by their social studies courses; they did not understand the purposes of these classes; they felt restricted in their discussions and explorations of current social and political problems. Second, students were in the process of changing their sociopolitical attitudes with respect to a number of issues, experiencing a process described by adolescent psychologists Ianni and Seltzer. Third, students had little knowledge about the state political structure, despite taking a participation in government course; they were cynical about the political process and generally unenthusiastic about participating in that process; and students appeared to be unaware that citizenship education is the purpose of the social studies courses they take. The study closes with a discussion of developing more engaging classrooms and the obstacles to doing so.

Cornett, J. (1996). *Portraits of Four Exemplary Law-Related Education Teachers: Insights from a Qualitative Study of Teacher Practice.* Unpublished paper. Florida Law Related Education Association.

The purpose of Cornett's research was to describe the classroom practice of four exemplary LRE teachers from the perspectives of each teacher, the researcher, and key stakeholders such as students and administrators. Two major assumptions guided the study: (1) field-based research about exemplary LRE instructional practice is limited and, therefore, preservice and inservice teacher training is not informed by carefully documented examples of such classrooms; (2) for teachers to be empowered to continue to improve their practice, they must explicitly understand the assumptions underlying their practice. The study is not only suggestive about some of the characteristics of exemplary LRE teaching, it is also noteworthy for its use of action research methods and for involving the teachers directly in the study of their own practices.

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Citizenship and Law-Related Education*

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Interviewer: How do you become a Republican?

Child: Like if Reagan wanted you'to be *his* Republican, he would want you to come to the Republican party.

Interviewer: How would he let you know he wanted you to be a Republican?

Child: Maybe from his speeches, or call you up. He would want you to come to his party and not someone else's.

Interviewer: What kind of party is it?

Child: Probably like a long table with a feast on it.

(Abraham, 1983)

Defined broadly, citizenship education includes the whole school curriculum and is the school's reason for being. The founders of our "democratic experiment" were convinced that the welfare of the republic was contingent upon a citizenry that was literate, knowledgeable about political institutions and processes, and committed to democratic values. Professor R. Freeman Butts (1979) put it this way:

> Universal education was not primarily to serve the self-fulfillment of individuals, or to develop the mind for its own sake, or to prepare for a job, or to get into college....The most fundamental purpose of universal schooling is the political goal of empowering the whole population to exercise the rights and cope with the responsibilities of a genuinely democratic citizenry. (p. 359).

Of course, schools are not society's sole agency of citizenship education. The family, church, media, and ethnic and occupational groups also play an important role. Nevertheless, schools are virtually the only structured source of citizenship education in the community. And, within the schools, social studies is the one subject area that has citizenship education as its stated, central focus (Barr, Barth, and Shermis, 1977; Shaver, 1977).

We can no longer be innocent, however, about the relationship of schools to the broader society in which they are embedded. Researchers in what is called "the new sociology of education" (e.g., Apple, 1982; Anyon, 1979; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Willis, 1977) have demonstrated quite well the subordination of citizenship education in schools to potent forces of social and cultural reproduction. Consequently, a formal citizenship education program in schools while espousing the noble objectives of which Butts speaks, will not easily overcome the more pervasive, covert citizenship education program that helps perpetuate current social practices and beliefs.

Because citizenship in the elementary school is related intricately to the broader society, elementary teachers, as citizenship educators, are unavoidably *sociopolitical actors*. As such, they must wrestle with the stand they want to take toward the status quo. Shall they seek, through their citizenship education curriculum, to conserve the present state of affairs? Transcend it? Neither? Both? Similarly, authors of research syntheses, like ourselves, must wrestle with their stand, for there is no neutral ground.

We have chosen in this chapter to define the aim of citizenship education as the cultivation of the kind of citizen needed to meet the challenge of fulfilling the democratic experiment. This citizen, whom we shall call a "democratic citizen" (Parker and Jarolimek, 1984), is informed; skilled in forming,

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using, and critiquing knowledge claims; skilled in interpersonal communication and civic participation; committed to democratic values; and willing—even feeling compelled—to participate in democratic processes. Speaking more broadly, we see the aim as being the cultivation of the kind of citizen who, as in the classic Greek definition of citizenship education, is committed to intelligent, ethical, and active participation in civic life.

The democratic citizen's participation in public life is shaped by conditions and assumptions that require the individual to nurture and maintain three different types of perspectives. The first is a global perspective. From this perspective, one's thinking and loyalties are international as well as local and national. One understands interdependence, and that one's commitment to "liberty and justice for all" extends to people everywhere. The second is a pluralistic perspective. From this perspective, one regards cultural diversity within and among societies, as well as differences of opinion among people, as an acceptable, even desirable, fact of contemporary life. The third is a constructive or critical perspective. From this perspective, one perceives democracy as unfinished business, a process, a vision yet unfolding; consequently, the democratic citizen constantly examines the congruence of existing practices with democratic ideals and seeks to close the gaps.[1]

Another important dimension of citizenship education concerns law and the way individuals at various developmental levels relate to it. A good deal of interest in law-related education has been generated in the last several years, and a variety of classroom materials has been developed (Anderson, 1980). In this report, law-related education is addressed in the context of the developing citizen's conception of justice.

A great deal of research is relevant to the development of democratic citizens, including research addressed to law-related education. Consequently, it is not possible in one chapter to undertake an exhaustive review. A narrowed focus is necessary. To accomplish this, major studies were selected for review that fall into four areas of research and that are considered to be central to the study of citizenship education and most helpful to elementary teachers who want to cultivate democratic citizenship in their students:

- Political socialization.
- Cognitive development.
- Moral development.
- Classroom climate.

Research on Political Socialization

Political socialization is the process by which individuals develop a political identity composed of political perspectives, beliefs, knowledge, skills, and behaviors. Research has revealed regularities in this process that bear directly on the cultivation of democratic citizens. Most importantly, this research shows that a person's political identity is learned, that this learning begins before a child enters kindergarten, and that it progresses rapidly during the elementary years and continues into adulthood.

A seminal study of political learning on children (Greenstein, 1969) included over 600 4th through 8th grade students in New Haven, Connecticut schools. A paper-and-pencil questionnaire administered in the children's classrooms indicated that the children idealized political authorities and considered them benevolent. This was an emotional tie reserved primarily for the president and the mayor. This indiscriminate affection decreased as the children progressed from 4th to 8th grade. However, while idealization of authorities was decreasing with grade level, political knowledge was increasing. The 4th graders' affection for the president and mayor was accompanied by virtually no political information; but, by the 8th grade, the children had become "reasonably well informed about the major political institutions" (Greenstein, p. 55). The pattern was clear: The higher the child's grade, the more accurate the information the child possessed and the less idealized the view of political authorities.

Though older children were far more informed, only a small proportion of them had any sort of orientation—that is, any consistent, philosophic frame of reference from which issues could be judged. Only six percent of the 8th graders were able to generate the kinds of responses that might be given by adults, such as "The Republicans are for the rich people," and "The Democrats are too free with money" (Greenstein, 1969, p. 69). In spite of the lack of orientation among even the 8th graders, it is interesting that over half of the children at every grade identified with a political party. Greenstein explains this phenomenon the same way he explains children's idealization of political authorities:

> Here, as in children's assessments of the importance of political roles, we find that political feelings, evaluations, and attachments form well before the child learns the relevant supporting information. (p. 72)

Another ground-breaking study of children's political learning supports the key findings in the Greenstein study. Hess and Torney (1967) administered a questionnaire to some 12,000 children, grades 2 through 8, in eight cities across the United States. Like Greenstein, these researchers focused on children's beliefs and their acquisition. They also found that young children's involvement in the political system begins with strong, emotional ties to the country, governmental institutions, and political roles. The president is the major political authority in the child's developing political identity and is regarded personally as one who can provide individualized assistance to people by telephone or visits to the White House. Hess and Torney found the police officer more important in the child's world than the mayor. The officer is well liked and is regarded as personally "nurturant"—a helper in times of trouble.

Children's trust in the benevolence of the political system was expressed also by their view that the citizen's chief responsibility is to be a good person. As children grew older, the good citizen was also expected to vote and express interest in political issues. The sense of personal efficacy and the belief that the individual does make a difference, particularly through voting, increased with age. The children viewed conflict among government leaders and politicians as undesirable and

> by the end of the eighth grade, children have developed a sense of the need for consensus and majority rule in democratic processes. Typically, they have not recognized the role of debate, disagreement, and conflict in the operation of a democratic political system. (Hess and Torney, 1967, p. 216)

The findings of these and other studies of the development of children's political identities tend to hold firm even through major political upheavals such as those that occurred in the 1960s and the Watergate scandal. While trust in political authorities decreased markedly among adult citizens during this turbulent period, the benevolent leader phenomenon was sustained for 2nd through 4th grade students (Dawson, Prewitt, and Dawson, 1969). This supports the general notion that children must reach a particular level of development in order to cope better with the political information and become more aware of the political environment.

A summary of the research on children's political learning includes the following:

1. Political learning begins early and continues through early childhood, late childhood, and adolescence.

2. Different types of political learning take place at different points over the pre-adult years.

3. Basic attachments and identifications are among the first political outlooks to be acquired.

4. Early orientations toward political authorities seem to be indiscriminately positive and benevolent. They become less so as the child moves through late childhood and into adolescence.

5. Early conceptions of politics and government are highly personalized. The government, the president, the mayor, and other elements are understood initially in personal terms. This personalization fades and is replaced by more abstract perceptions by late childhood and early adolescence.

6. Affective orientations, or feelings, about political objects seem to be acquired before information or knowledge. One has feelings about the nation and the president (usually positive feelings) before one has much understanding of their functions.

7. During late childhood, children acquire information and knowledge about the political world. They begin to distinguish between different political

roles and acquire the basic factual information needed to map out the political world.

8. During adolescence, individuals increase their capacity to deal with abstractions and to engage in ideological thinking and ends-means analysis. They become more interested in following political events and more involved in partisan and electoral politics. (Dawson et al., 1969, pp. 59-60)

The understanding of children's citizenship learning provided by these initial studies has been expanded in recent years by researchers who approach the subject from a cognitive developmental perspective as well as by those who study the relationship of citizenship learning to classroom climate. We turn first to the cognitive development point of view.

Research on Cognitive Development

Research conducted by developmental psychologists is relevant to understanding the process by which qualities of democratic citizenship develop and, therefore, to the planning of curriculum and instruction. Jean Piaget (1928) was the seminal thinker among these developmental psychologists. Briefly, his research revealed that an individual's cognitive development progresses through a sequence of four stages: the sensorimotor stage (birth to 1 1/2-2 years); the preoperational stage (1 1/2-2 to 5-6 years); the concrete operational stage (6-7 to 10-11 years); and the formal operational stage (beginning at 11-12 years). Piaget maintained that each stage is a qualitatively distinct thought system—an integrated, whole world view. The stages are hierarchically arranged with each succeeding stage representing a more complex, inclusive, and powerful system of thinking. The stages form an invariant sequence of development. No one ever skips a stage, although development through the stages can be slowed or halted altogether.[2]

What enables an individual to progress satisfactorily through the stages to the formal operational level? Active experience and social interaction expose the individual to disequilibrating events (intellectual conflicts) from which the only satisfying "escape" is cognitive development; that is, the only resolution is through the construction of a wholly different intellectual structure. Thus, the conflicts inherent in interaction with the people and events in the growing child's environment stimulate a search for more effective ways to think about the world. In this view, children's minds develop as they interact with a stimulating environment. Through the process of assimilation and accommodation, knowledge is constructed by children as they act on the environment; intellectual development therefore takes place as a function of an individual's own constructive activity.

Failure to develop to the formal operational stage limits seriously a citizen's ability to understand the social world and participate intelligently in democratic processes. Citizens whose thinking develops only to the concrete operational stage can solve concrete but not abstract problems. They are limited therefore to thinking about the present, the known, the actual. Citizens thinking at the formal level are emancipated from this cognitive restraint. They can solve hypothetical, abstract problems that exist only in words, or in the future. They can focus on the processes of problem solving and data gathering, whereas their concrete counterparts cannot separate structure from content.

There is a general agreement among developmental psychologists that the development of political understandings corresponds to the Piagetian description of intellectual growth. Consequently, political understandings during the concrete and formal operational periods are predictably different in ways that reflect the distinct characteristics of these two stages of thought. For example, Siegel (1977) studied the development of children's concepts of justice and law. A questionnaire was administered to 450 black and white children ranging in age from eight to sixteen years; it asked about the children's reactions to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Responses to each of the questions revealed formal operational thinking by the older children. In response to the question "When the killer is found, how do you think he should be treated?" the older children indicated that the killer should receive a fair trial and be punished according to the law. The younger children, however, thought the killer should receive specific, often extralegal punishment—for example, the killer should be "turned over to the Negroes and let them take care of him," or "Let Mrs.

King kill him," or "Dr. King was killed by him so the same thing should happen to him."

In response to questions like "Why do you think Dr. King was shot?" and "What made the person do it?" the older children more often gave political responses (e.g., "he was killed because he tried to do something for the Negroes"); while the younger, concrete-operational thinkers more often personalized the shooting, assigning motives to the killer (e.g., "He hated King," or "Because a riot might have went on in his neighborhood and wrecked his home and he thought Dr. King started it"). Specific punishments and personal motives are concrete representations of the event; the idea of justice mediated through a fair trial or political ideology is abstract. Siegel concluded that "both the development of the understanding of law and the increasing depersonalization of events and motives represent the growth of the child's ability to form abstractions about the political process" (p. 285).

In another study (Adelson, Green, and O'Neil, 1969), 5th, 7th, 9th, and 12th grade students were asked to imagine they were in a specific situation and then to make and justify a number of decisions about law, justice, and political authority. The older children were able to respond to aspects of their situation abstractly, while the younger children responded concretely, almost literally. Younger students usually emphasized the constraining and coercive side of the law—the side that kept people from committing cruel, antisocial acts. Older students were more likely to emphasize the beneficial, socially constructive side of the law. For example, when asked "What is the purpose of laws?" an 11-year-old responded, "Well, so everybody won't fight, and they have certain laws so they won't go around breaking windows and stuff and getting away with it." A 15-year-old responded, "To help keep us safe and free."

Given this dramatic developmental progression in political understandings between early childhood and late adolescence, two important concerns emerge for citizenship education in the elementary school years. First, how can learning activities be matched appropriately to the cognitive stages of students so that learning is maximized? Second, how can the transition from preoperational to concrete to formal thinking be facilitated (or at least not arrested)?

In an attempt to better understand each of these stages and, particularly the nature of the cognitive reorganization involved in the transitions from one to the next, Abraham (1983) interviewed 3rd, 4th and 5th grade students about political party identification. The predictable differences in stage-related thinking were present. A concrete response to the question "Are all boys and girls in the world Republicans?" was "No, some can be born Republican, and some can be born Democrat." A response indicating transition to abstract thought was, "No, people have different beliefs."

However, Abraham (1983) found an interesting phenomenon as children move through the concrete operational period. Though considerable change in political thinking takes place between the 3rd and 5th grades, "this change does not occur in steady, grade-incremental progressions" (p. 227). Instead, a "back-and-forth" pattern characterized the movement of children through this period. On some questions, 4th and 5th graders tended to score at a lower cognitive level than 3rd graders, indicating alternating states of progression and regression during this period. Abraham speculates that this alternation reflects the dynamic state of these students' political thinking. Aware of the shortcomings of their former ideas, yet unaware of satisfactory ways of thinking anew about political phenomena, the children may be falling back to a familiar, though inadequate, cognitive mode. Whether the regression at this age is temporary, indicating a short-lived drop on a generally upward spiral of cognitive growth, or whether it becomes a relatively permanent fixation at a lower level of thought is of critical importance to their development as democratic citizens—particularly critical when we remember that not all adults exhibit formal operational thought. Abraham concludes "To avoid possible stagnation in political thinking, and to optimize children's cognitive performance in this area, it would appear that appropriate political instruction at this stage might be highly desirable" (p. 228).

Research on Moral Development

Another group of cognitive developmental psychologists, led by Harvard professor Lawrence Kohlberg, has derived a theory of stage development that is focused on moral development, or one's reasoning about justice. Building on Piaget's structural approach to the development of thinking, Kohlberg (1969) and his associates have found that people's thinking about justice seems to progress through an invariant sequence of six stages arranged in three levels. Each stage is characterized by a different mode of reasoning about information and experience, not a particular set of beliefs or moral doctrine. Each succeeding stage of moral reasoning is more complex, capable of greater differentiation and integration of phenomena, and, consequently, appears to extend the individual's capacity to solve ethical problems.

Each level of moral reasoning, as with Piaget's levels of cognition, bears directly on the development of key qualities of democratic citizenship. At each level, individuals seem to have a distinctly different relationship to law, authority, and the concepts of justice, civil rights, and civic responsibility. The first, the "preconventional" level, is dominated by a pattern of reasoning that considers the immediate consequences of behavior. Right and wrong are defined in terms of punishment and reward, obedience, and the exchange of favors. At this level of moral reasoning, it is ethical to steal if you can get away with it; it is wrong if you are caught. Desirable relationships are characterized by the rule of reciprocity: You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours.

At the second, the "conventional" level, people value maintaining the rules and expectations of their groups for their own sake, even if doing so results in consequences less than rewarding from the preconventional view. Persons who reason at this level consider social approval paramount along with loyalty to the law and duty to family, friends, and country.

The third, the "postconventional" level, involves yet another reorganization of thought regarding right and wrong. At this level moral principles are paramount. They are valued for their own sake, apart from group loyalties and laws. Persons who reason below this level are incapable of a full understanding of the concept of "inalienable rights," for example, and of documents like national constitutions, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, or the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—all of which are principled documents derived from postconventional thinking. A comprehension of these documents requires a complex, abstract conception of justice, or as Kohlberg has stated, "a disentangling of justice from the particular accepted rules of the culture" (1973, p. 373).

These modes of reasoning were discovered initially in interviews with 72 American boys, ages 10, 13, and 16 (Kohlberg, 1958). These boys were interviewed every three years until the 16-year-olds were 28, providing longitudinal data spanning preadolescence to adulthood. The data gathered were the subjects' responses to 10 hypothetical moral dilemmas. The dilemmas were similar structurally in that each pitted a common moral requirement (e.g., do not steal) against an unusual set of circumstances. For example, an often-used dilemma in the Kohlberg research involves a man stealing a drug to save his dying wife. Did the man act justly?

Because the Kohlberg research suggests that people progress developmentally in their relationship to law and authority, moral development can also be viewed as legal development (Tapp and Kohlberg, 1971). Accordingly, at the preconventional level, people conceive their relationships to the social order from a law-obeying perspective; at succeeding levels, people progress to a law-maintaining (conventional) and then a law-making (postconventional) perspective. Apparently it is not until individuals have attained the law-making mode of thinking that they are able to perceive law as a vehicle for social change rather than simply as the "firm hand" that controls antisocial behavior. It is apparently not until individuals have attained this level of thought that they could say knowingly, as did Aristophanes, "Wise men, though all laws were abolished, would lead the same lives."

National and cross-national studies support this stage-wise progression of legal perspectives (Tapp and Kohlberg, 1971). Interviews with 115 kindergarten- through college-level students from the United States revealed that preconventional thinking decreased markedly over the years on all questions asked. For example, a 2nd grader thought that if there were not rules, "people would go around killing other people, and they'd be stealing things, and they'd be kidnapping people...." (level one). A college-level student replied, "If people were capable of acting responsibly and morally, nothing would happen" (level three). When asked, "Can rules be changed?" 20 percent of the youngest group thought rules could not be changed (level one), while no students from the middle-school age and older responded negatively.

Cross-nationally, the data from students in Denmark, Greece, India, Italy and Japan corroborated the universality of the progression in legal thinking. Researchers concluded that preconventional subjects were oriented rigidly to obedience and punishment avoidance with no concern for group or societal welfare; conventional reasoners were also oriented rigidly, but to systems of law that are considered fundamental to group welfare and order. As Tapp and Kohlberg pointed out, the few who reasoned at the postconventional, law-making level

> viewed rules and laws as norms mutually agreed on by individuals for maximizing personal and social welfare. They judged laws should be obeyed either because of rational considerations or because they are coincident with universal principles of justice. This perspective offered a coherent, responsible guide to social change and the creation of new norms; those that served no purpose or were unjust should be changed; those that violated fundamental individual rights and universal moral principles could be legitimately broken. (p. 85)

Both the national and cross-national studies concluded that conventional reasoning was the most common level of reasoning found in society. Most individuals move beyond level one, but normally only a small minority progresses from level two to three. In the U.S. sample, only college students (and only a minority of them) reasoned at level three.

Moral development is the aim of education, according to the Kohlberg school. Principled morality, it is argued, is critical to competent democratic citizenship. If students are to achieve the civic understandings and abilities necessary for participation in today's difficult world, it seems safe to say that they must be challenged to reason in ways that press beyond egocentricity and ethnocentricity.

Before leaving the subject of moral development, it should be noted that Kohlberg's work has been extended and qualified in important ways. For example, recent research suggests that the development of conceptions of justice and the development of conceptions of social conventions are distinct processes, not different stages on a single developmental course (Nucci, 1982; Turiel, 1983). Turiel (1978) found that people's reasoning about society and conventions develops through a series of seven stages, and Nucci (1984) found that this social development was independent of cognitive development as measured by Piagetian stage. These findings throw into question Kohlberg's assertion that formal operational thinking is prerequisite to advanced, level two reasoning. Other research points to inconsistencies in real-life situations and in issues involving authority versus issues involving justice (see Damon, 1980). Still other research has contrasted Kohlberg's principled or morality-as-fairness orientation with conceptions of morality as caring and responsibility (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1981, 1984). Both Gilligan and Noddings have found the latter more typical of women, the former of men. Taken together, these qualifications of Kohlberg's conception of morality are demonstrating that the development of a sense of justice is just one dimension of a larger, multifaceted process of social development.[3]

Research on Classroom Climate

Another body of research related to citizenship education is concerned with classroom climate. Just what is classroom climate? The construct remains somewhat vague, but refers generally to a collection of features that give a classroom a certain atmosphere—a context in which activity takes place and is given meaning. According to Ehman (1980), classroom climate exists at "the intersection of teacher behavior and classroom curriculum." Classroom climate neither refers to "*who* teaches, not *what* is taught, as much as *how* teaching is carried out...." (p. 108).

Classroom climate is important to citizenship education because it has been found to affect students' citizenship learning, including political efficacy, tolerance for the views of others, attitudes toward civil rights and duties, political interest, political participation, respect for the law, treatment of government authority, and support for democratic values. Classroom climate affects students in a covert rather than overt way. It is part of the "hidden curriculum" of the classroom in which routines, understandings, and arrangements teach a lesson of their own. This covert lesson occurs through decision-making procedures, student participation patterns, treatment or the lack of treatment of controversial issues, response to student opinions by teachers as well as other students, and other behavioral patterns which, taken together, constitute a distinctive sociopolitical atmosphere.[4]

Classroom climate can be conceptualized on a continuum from undemocratic to democratic, or from "closed" to "open." VanSickle (1983) points to a number of attributes of the democratic classroom climate. For one thing, students in a democratic classroom participate frequently. They often initiate questions and statements and respond to requests. This type of participation is distributed across all students. The student status system in the class is weak; consequently, active student participation in lessons is widespread and equitable rather than dependent on academic ability, social class, ethnicity, athletic skill, and gender. Furthermore, the decision-making process in democratic classrooms is, to a significant degree, decentralized. This means that students have more opportunities to influence their classroom environment—topics to be studied, instructional activities, rules and procedures, and daily classroom problems. Students in a democratic classroom generally cooperate, are considerate, and feel good about one another. There is less alienation; instead, students tend to feel that at least some others (including the teacher) care. This positive interaction is helped by the weak status system and is linked positively to increased student participation and influence on classroom decision making.

The research literature generally supports the claim that democratic classrooms foster desirable citizenship learning. For example, a study was conducted of over 2000 5th grade students in 71 randomly selected schools to determine the impact of teacher behavior on students' political values, particularly their tolerance for and interest in the ideas of their classmates (Hawley and Eyler, 1983). An adaptation of Flanders Interaction Analysis was used to observe teachers. Student attitudes and perceptions of their teacher were derived from questionnaires read to students. Findings of the study suggest that the teachers' respect for student ideas was significantly related to student interest in the ideas of others. Moreover, students who had substantial opportunity to interact with others on instructional tasks were more tolerant of the views of others. The researchers concluded that "teachers' modeling of behavior may be more important than the manifest content of instruction in learning political values" (Hawley and Eyler).

In a cross-national study involving 10 countries (including the United States), questionnaires were administered to more than 30,000 10-year-olds, 14-year-olds, and pre-university students (Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975). All respondents were in representative samples of their respective school populations at each of the three age levels. The findings indicate that none of the countries successfully achieve the widely heralded objective of cultivating loyal, informed, critical, and actively participating democratic citizens. In Israel and the United States there was strong support for the national government, but below-average support for democratic values. In the Federal Republic of Germany and the Netherlands, the reverse was true. Across the countries in the study, classroom climate was found to affect citizenship outcomes more strongly than was specific classroom practice: "More knowledgeable, less authoritarian, and more interested students came from schools where [students] were encouraged to have free discussion and to express their opinion in class" (p. 18). Students who were exposed to "traditional" civic education programs with a strong emphasis on printed drills and the memorization of facts tended to be less knowledgeable about political content. Similarly, students who reported frequent participation in "traditional" patriotic rituals in the school or classroom were also less knowledgeable about political content and less democratic in their values.

These studies suggest fundamental characteristics of those climates that seem to foster desirable citizenship outcomes: Students are encouraged to express their opinions, and their teachers model respect for diverse opinions. Controversy and conflicting ideas are a part of the curriculum, and dealing with them is considered a welcome part of classroom life. It is important to note here that controversial issues have a positive impact on desirable citizenship outcomes only when these issues are discussed in a democratic climate—that is, a climate in which a wide range of student views is elicited and respected. The use of controversial issues in a closed climate tends, as would be expected, to produce negative attitudes in students.

The review of research on classroom climate included in this chapter is not exhaustive. Nevertheless, one can tentatively conclude from it that students' citizenship learning is influenced not only by the overt, planned social studies curriculum but by the covert, often unplanned climate of the classroom as well. Since the classroom climate can be altered, one can assume it can be altered in ways that might support rather than counter desirable citizenship learnings.

Notes

1. See Greene (1983) on the "American Dream" and Giroux (1984) for an eloquent critique of the new public philosophy, which is undermining that dream in favor of a mundane, economic privatism.

2. A review of attempts to apply Piaget's model in educational settings can be found in Kuhn (1979).

3. Another important development in the study of moral judgment was James Rest's Defining Issues Test. See Moon (1985) and Thoma (1985) for reviews of studies using this measure.

4. Probing discussions of the "hidden curriculum" can be found in Jackson (1968), Apple (1975), and Giroux and Penna (1979).

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Teaching Government, Civics, and Law*

by John J. Patrick, Indiana University, and John D. Hoge, University of Georgia

Teaching government in schools has been important in the United States since the founding of the republic. President George Washington reflected the views of his era when he endorsed

> the education of our Youth in the science of Government. In a Republic, what species of knowledge can be equally important? And what duty more pressing on the Legislature, than to patronize a plan for communicating it to those, who are to be the future guardians of the liberties of the Country. (Eighth Annual Address to Congress, December 7, 1796)

From Washington's time to our own, schools have had the mission of inducting "future guardians of the liberties of the country" into the civic culture. In line with this tradition, elementary and secondary schools have educated students in the interrelated subjects of government, civics (citizenship), and law. Teachers have used these three subjects separately and conjunctively to give students alternative and overlapping views of the institutions, principles, and values of constitutional democracy in the United States.

What does the scholarly literature reveal about the teaching and learning of government, civics, and law today—almost 200 years after President Washington's advice to Congress and the American people on "The education of our Youth"? This chapter provides a synthesis of findings on (a) curriculum patterns, (b) contents of the curriculum as indicated by widely used textbooks, (c) patterns of student learning, and (d) effects of schools on what students learn.

Curriculum Patterns in Government, Civics, and Law

Expectations about teaching and learning are revealed by curriculum patterns and trends. What has been the place of government, civics, and law among our educational priorities of the past and present? What is the current status of these subjects in the school curriculum?

Curriculum Patterns in Historical Perspective

The ancestry of today's secondary school courses in civics and government can be traced directly to activities of the American Political Science Association (APSA) and the National Education Association (NEA) during the early years of this century. The APSA, founded in 1903, quickly became concerned about the teaching of government and civics and established three different committees in 1908, 1916, and 1921 to study the curriculum and make recommendations for improving it. The NEA organized the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education in 1913, which included a Committee on Social Studies. Unlike the APSA committees, the NEA worked for comprehensive curriculum reform, including civics and government (Tryon, 1935, pp. 5-49).

In its 1916 report, *The Social Studies in Secondary Education*, the NEA Committee argued that the overriding goal of social studies is education for citizenship, and courses in civics, government, and problems of democracy should be keystones of the new curriculum. These new courses were supposed to be "concerned less with constitutional questions and remote governmental functions and should direct attention to social agencies close at hand and to the informal activities of daily life that regard and seek the common good" (Committee on Social Studies, 1916, p. 52).

The American Political Science Association's Committee of Seven (1916) issued a report, *The Teaching of Government*, which declared its commitment to "education for citizenship and public service and...to personal participation in public af-

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fairs" (p. 2). This APSA report reinforced the NEA recommendations, and these two reports shaped the scope and sequence of the emerging government-civics curriculum. The report of the 1921 APSA Committee on Civics Instruction in High School generally supported the work of its predecessors, but it also urged substantial treatment of the institutions of constitutional government in concert with studies of citizenship in local communities (Tryon, 1935, pp. 46-49).

During the 1920s, educators throughout the United States established junior high school courses in civics (usually at the 8th or 9th grades) and in government (usually at the 12th grade) that tended to follow the NEA and APSA guidelines, including those of the 1921 APSA committee (Quillen, 1966, pp. 255-156; Tryon, 1935, p. 49). Courses in civics emphasized the rights and responsibilities of citizens and their relationships to one another and to the government. Courses in government treated the political and legal institutions and constitutional principles of the United States. Public issues and social trends were emphasized in schools that combined the study of American government with problems of democracy (Tryon, 1935, pp. 242-281).

The curriculum patterns of the 1920s persisted into the 1950s, as evidenced by a report of the American Political Science Association that proclaimed development of democratic citizenship the predominant goal of education in political science and government (APSA, 1951). Different ideas, however, took shape during the 1960s and 1970s—the so-called "era of the New Social Studies"—which temporarily brought the illusion of profound curriculum reform (Haas, 1977).

A new APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education (1971) recommended "political science education in elementary and secondary schools" that would emphasize (a) "knowledge about political behavior and process," (b) "skill in the process of social science inquiry," and (c) "skills needed to participate effectively and democratically in the life of the society" (pp. 4-5). New courses in American political behavior and comparative political systems were developed through federally-funded projects and implemented widely, for a brief time (Hertzberg, 1981, pp. 126-142). However, use of the New Social Studies materials in government and politics declined near the end of the 1970s. Many teachers who had moved away from the dominant approaches to teaching government or civics returned to them.

As the New Social Studies moved out of favor, a new curricular force gained momentum--law-related education (LRE). The American Bar Association had established committees on citizenship education in the 1920s, which promoted education about the U.S. Constitution (Tryon, 1935, pp. 58-64). However, the current LRE movement is rooted in the 1970s and a broad view of its mission. According to its founders, law-related education is "those organized learning experiences that provide students and educators with opportunities to develop the knowledge and understanding, skills, attitudes, and appreciations necessary to respond effectively to the law and legal issues in our complex and changing society" (Study Group on Law-Related Education, 1978, p. 50). The overriding goal of the LRE leaders has been education for citizenship in a constitutional democracy, not specialized legal education.

For the most part, LRE has entered the curriculum through infusion into standards units of instruction in elementary social studies (grades K-6) and in such secondary school courses as civics, government, and American history. Elective courses in law-related education also have been developed for secondary school students (Gallagher, 1987).

Curriculum Patterns of the 1980s

A nationwide survey of state social studies specialists (Hahn, 1985) revealed that, since 1975, LRE had been added to the curriculum in more than half of the respondents (46 states). LRE was mentioned more frequently than other topics as having been added to the social studies curriculum since 1975. The state specialists also ranked LRE 4th as a priority in social studies education in 1985; it had ranked 11th in 1975. The results of a recent national curriculum survey (Council of State Social Studies Specialists, 1986) indicated that courses in LRE are offered widely as electives in about 40 percent of the 50 states plus the District of Columbia. As of 1988, in no state had an LRE course been mandated as a requirement for graduation from high school.

The study of government or civics, however, is required for graduation from high school in about 70 percent of the 50 states plus the District of Columbia (Council of State Social Studies Specialists, 1986; Eckenrod, 1987, pp. 3-8). In addition, courses in civics or government tend to be offered as electives in the school districts of states that do not require them for graduation; and in many schools of these states, these courses are required (Council of State Social Studies specialists, 1986; Eckenrod, 1987).

During the 1980s, the high school government or civics course (mostly offered at grade 12) has maintained the secure place gained in the curriculum during the 1920s and 1930s. By contrast, civics has fallen from the prominent position it occupied in grades 7 to 9 from the 1920s through the 1950s. A seventh-, eighth-, or ninth-grade civics course is required in only about 20 percent of the 50 states, and it is a prevalent elective in less than 30 percent of them (Council of State Social Studies Specialists, 1986; Eckenrod, 1987, pp. 8-11). Less than 40 percent of U.S. students in grades 7 to 9 are enrolled annually in civics courses (Eckenrod, 1987, p. 12).

Ideas and facts in government, civics, and law are woven into the multisubject social studies curricula of elementary schools. Attention to these subjects has increased at the expense of content in the social and behavioral sciences (Council of State Social Studies Specialists, 1986).

Current curriculum patterns indicate a secure place for government, civics, and law in elementary and secondary schools. These subjects invariably have been included in the core curriculum recommendations of the 1980s educational reform reports. Curriculum reformers of the 1980s have emphatically argued for core content, essential subjects that all students should learn. For example, Ernest Boyer stated a widely-shared position in his 1983 report on secondary education in the United States: "A core of common learning is essential. The basic curriculum should be a study of those consequential ideas, experiences, and traditions common to all of us" (p. 302). Boyer recommended that the high school core curriculum include a one-year course in American government (pp. 104-105).

Other major curriculum reform reports of the 1980s have supported a required high school course in government and promoted infusion of content in government, civics, and law throughout the social studies curricula of elementary and secondary schools, especially in units and courses on history and geography (Bennett, 1986, 1987; Butts, 1980, 1988; History-Social Science Curriculum Framework and Criteria Committee, 1988). William J. Bennett's (1987) model curriculum for high school includes a one-semester course in "Principles of American Democracy" and a one-semester course in "American Democracy and the World" (pp. 19-20). Bennett's (1986) model elementary school curriculum in the social studies is organized around the interrelated subjects of civics, geography, and history (pp. 28-29).

The Education for Democracy Project (1987) of the American Federation of Teachers has been especially concerned about the infusion of civics into the study of American history and world history (p. 7). There is an emphatic call for teaching the civic values of a constitutional democracy at all grades of elementary and secondary schools. A course in American government is also proposed for the high school core curriculum (p. 20).

The 1980s curriculum reform literature also includes exciting proposals and examples of school-based programs for civic learning through participation in the community outside the school. Although reminiscent of progressive education in the 1920s and 1930s, these experiential education programs fit 1980s thinking about learning through participation in concert with solid academic foundations. They seem to avoid an excessive emphasis on social utility at the expense of intellectual development (Boyer, 1983, pp. 306-307; Janowitz, 1983, pp. 170-191).

In 1988, two major projects were launched: (a) *CIVITAS*, the civics curriculum framework project of the Council for the Advancement of Citizenship and the Center for Civic Education, and (b) *Our Democracy: How America Works*, the civics curriculum development project of the Foundation for Teaching Economics and the Constitutional Rights Foundation. These projects suggest that the teaching of government, civics, and law in schools is likely to remain at the top of the curriculum improvement agenda in the near future.

Textbook Content in Government, Civics, and Law

Curriculum reform reports and guides reveal expectations about teaching government, civics, and law in schools. Widely used textbooks, however, are the best indicators of what is taught in the typical classroom (Patrick and Hawke, 1982, pp. 39-40).

This discussion of textbook contents is based on selected studies of elementary and secondary school textbooks, and reviews of such studies, conducted from the 1960s through the 1980s (Anyon 1978; Carrol et al., 1987; Harrington, 1980; Janowitz, 1983; Joyce, 1967; Katz,.1985; Larkins, Hawkins and Gilmore, 1987; Massialias, 1967; Patrick and Hawke, 1982; Price, 1966; Remy, 1981; Shaver, 1965; Smith and Patrick, 1967; Taylor and Birchell, 1983). The findings of these studies are indicative of what is, and is not, emphasized in the teaching of government, civics, and law in elementary and secondary schools and how the textbooks of today compare to those of the 1960s.

General Content Characteristics

Widely used textbooks reflect national curriculum patterns as indicated by state-level curriculum guides. Thus, publishers produce textbooks on American government for older high school students and on civics for use in the eighth or ninth grades (Patrick and Hawke, 1982, p. 44).

Widely used elementary school textbooks from different publishers are remarkable similar. The textbooks and teacher's guides are filled with statements about civic traditions, norms, patriotic rituals, conformity to rules and laws, and other facets of dutiful social behavior. Prescriptions about good citizenship are emphasized to the point of redundancy (Larkins, et al., 1987).

Secondary school textbooks in government and civics are largely compendiums of information about institutions of American government, political processes, and the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. Core principles of constitutional government in the United States are included, such as federalism, separation of powers, checks and balances, and representative democracy. Differences in these books are slight, more degrees of variation than distinctions in types of subject-matter treatments (Carroll et al., 1987).

Elementary and secondary school textbooks are designed for passive learning, transmission of facts and ideas rather than active involvement of learners in the pursuit of knowledge. Many topics, terms, and facts are mentioned, but few, if any, are developed in detail. Superficial survey of subject matter, not in-depth treatment of critical issues or key ideas, is the prevailing style (Carroll et al., 1987; Larkins et al., 1987).

The textbooks at all levels of schooling tend to be supportive of the status quo. Critical or alternative views of government and civic traditions in the United States tend to be missing from elementary textbooks and downplayed in secondary materials. Bland, matter-of-fact presentations of content and the absence of controversy are hallmarks of treatments of government, civics, and law in schoolbooks (Carroll et al., 1987; Larkins et al., 1987).

General Criticisms of Widely Used Textbooks

A 1966 review of textbooks began with the statement that "the entire teaching profession is presently being assaulted by an avalanche of criticism particularly related to the quality of textbooks being used in the schools" (Price, 1966, p. 21). Common criticisms of high school civics and government textbooks pertained to (a) superficial and simplistic coverage of material, (b) abstract or lifeless treatment of ideas and events, (c) idealistic and unrealistic presentations of society; (d) fragmentation of subject matter, (e) avoidance of controversial topics or issues, (f) emphasis on low-level cognition in questions and activities for learners, (g) unattractive format and design, and (h) misrepresentation or avoidance of content on ethnic and racial minorities and women in the civic life of the United States.

These common criticisms of the 1960s texts tended to be repeated in the 1980s, with two exceptions. First, textbooks today tend to be much more attractive in format and design, especially in use of graphics. Second, textbooks of the 1980s are more likely to reflect the ethnic and racial diversity and social pluralism of the United States. However, some critics have judged 1980s textbooks to be excessive in their emphasis on social pluralism and cultural diversity and deficient in their treatments of national unity and the common good (Glazer and Ueda, 1983, pp. 57-64; Harrington 1980; Janowitz 1983; pp. 91-105).

Civics content in the typical 1980s elementary social studies series has been judged to be too thin, too supportive of the status quo, and deficient in treatments of democratic values. Widely used texts focus mainly on respect for rules, laws, and authorities, almost to the exclusion of democratic rights and liberties (Harrington, 1980; Larkins et al., 1987; Taylor and Birchell, 1983).

Secondary school textbooks in civics and government were roundly criticized in a comprehensive 1987 study sponsored by the People for the American Way (Carroll et al., 1987). The reviewers castigated widely used textbooks for their mediocre content. In particular, they faulted most of the books for lacking a sound sequence of topics and ideas, covering too much information, avoiding in-depth discussions of important ideas and events, glossing over or omitting controversial topics, and failing to emphasize the crucial role of citizen participation in a democracy. The biggest criticism, however, was dull presentation of subject matter. In the judgment of these reviewers, inherently interesting subjects—politics, applications of law to daily life, public issues, governmental decision making, citizen action in community affairs—were shorn of drama and excitement by tedious and simplistic prose presented in rigid formats.

Criticisms of Treatments of Specific Topics or Themes

Textbook studies focusing on particular topics or themes have shed additional light on weaknesses of content in typical secondary school courses in civics and government. Two valuable studies of textbook treatments of the U.S. Constitution were done in recognition of the Bicentennial (Katz, 1985; Remy, 1981).

Katz reported that the five high school government texts in his study included mostly "dry institutional descriptions" with only slight attention to political processes, ideas, and issues. Federalism, for example, was treated mainly as a set of legal relationships with scant attention to federal-state relationships and little discussion of the theory underlying this core principle of the Constitution.

Remy's study of ten textbooks (five ninth-grade civics texts and five high school government books) revealed such common weaknesses as superficial treatment of Supreme Court decisions, failure to show how the Constitution influences or limits actions of government officials, and shallow discussion of core constitutional principles. Remy concluded that the texts were virtually devoid of detailed treatments of fundamental ideas, such as constitutional government, federalism, and democracy.

Treatments of limits to growth issues were examined in 63 secondary school textbooks, including 5 civics texts (Newitt, 1983). Newitt concluded that the texts presented one-sided discussions of population growth, worldwide production and distribution of food, use of energy resources, pollution of the environment, and industrial development. In general, the textbooks emphasized arguments for government policies that would limit economic growth and excluded or deemphasized alternative positions on the economic future of the United States and other areas of the world.

Most civics and government textbooks have been criticized for failure to attend systematically to development of higher-order cognitive processes and skills, such as decision making and critical thinking. These criticisms have been highlighted in studies conducted in the 1960s and 1980s (Carroll et al., 1987; Shaver, 1965; Smith and Patrick, 1967). In 1965, Shaver found—in an exhaustive review of virtually all available civics and government texts—that the books lacked clear and systematic models to guide development of reflective thinking and provided few, if any, opportunities for the exercise of reflective or critical capacities Most books relied on simple exhortations to think critically rather than provision of learning activities to develop the intellectual capacities needed to respond thoughtfully to public issues. Weak textbook treatments of critical thinking and other higher-level cognitive processes have persisted through the 1980s (Carroll et al., 1987).

The preceding synthesis of textbook studies highlights major weaknesses in the contents of government, civics, and law in the curricula of schools. Are these weaknesses in presentation of subject matter reflected in studies of students' knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills?

Civic Learning: Knowledge, Attitudes and Values, Skills

Civic learning refers to knowledge, attitudes and values, and skills (cognitive and participatory) about government, civics, and law. What are the achievements of students in these categories of civic learning?

This discussion of civic learning is based on the following sources: (a) the most recent and relevant reports of NAEP—the National Assessment of Educational Progress (1976, 1983, 1987); (b) nationwide surveys conducted by the Center for Civic Education [CCE] (1987), the Hearst Corporation (1987), and the National Assessment of Secondary School Principals [NASSP] (1984); (c) international studies involving representative samples of American youth (Dalton, 1988; Torney, Oppenheim, and Farnen, 1975); and (d) selected smaller-scale studies (Avery, 1988; Elam, 1984; Hastings, 1986; Hepburn, 1985; Hess and Torney, 1967; McCloskey and Brill, 1983; Miller, 1985; Moore, Lare, and Wagner, 1985; Remmers and Franklin, 1963; Sigel and Hoskin, 1981; Zellman, 1975). Findings about the civic learning of upper-level high school students and adults are emphasized, because these findings suggest what is, and is not, learned and retained about government, civics, and law following exposure to most, or all, of the elementary and secondary school curriculum.

Knowledge About Government, Civics, and Law

Citizens of a constitutional democracy are expected to know principles and facts necessary for meaningful participation in government and public affairs, and civic educators endeavor to transmit this knowledge to learners in elementary and secondary schools. To what extent do American adolescents and adults satisfy the knowledge requirement of democratic citizenship?

Most 17-year-olds (more than 60 percent) have general and superficial knowledge of governmental institutions and officials. For example, they tend to know that Congress is composed of two houses; the power of public officials is limited by law; certain public officials are elected to office and others are appointed; powers of government are separated among three branches of government; and powers and duties of government are divided between the federal and state governments. Most older adolescents recognize the need for government and laws and can state positive purposes served by law. They can at least identify purposes and functions of constitutional rights and liberties, such as freedom of expression, freedom of religion, protection against unreasonable searches and seizures, right to trial by jury, and protection against double jeopardy for a crime (NAEP, 1976, 1983).

Most high school students and adults, however, lack detailed knowledge and understanding of institutions, principles, and processes of government, law, and politics in the United States. More than half of student and adult respondents in national assessments and surveys have revealed serious misconceptions about the powers and duties of the president and the federal judiciary. They also tend to have shallow or confounded conceptions of core principles, such as constitutionalism, democracy, and federalism (CCE, 1987, pp. 3-5; Hearst Corporation, 1987, pp. 16-26; NAEP, 1983, pp. 14-16; Sigel and Hoskin, 1981). And they tend to have very limited knowledge about how to participate in public affairs (beyond voting in elections) to influence the decisions of government officials (Miller, 1985, pp. 6-11; NAEP, 1983, p. 17).

A national sample of 17-year-olds performed dismally on a 19-item set of questions on the U.S. Constitution that was included in a 1987 NAEP study: the average score was 54.5 percent correct (Ravitch and Finn, 1987, pp. 55-58). Less than half of the respondents correctly answered questions about the Federalist papers, landmark decisions of the Supreme Court, and major events in constitutional history. Only 60 percent demonstrated knowledge of a core constitutional principle, separation of powers (Ravitch and Finn, 1987, p. 55-58). Another 1987 study (CCE) revealed similar shortcomings in student knowledge of constitutional principles and history, as did the Hearst Corporation survey of adults (1987, pp. 12-36).

A major objective in teaching government, civics, and law in schools has been to transmit knowledge. However, assessments of the knowledge of older adolescents and adults suggest only modest success in this important dimension of education in schools. However, critics argue that the NAEP-type tests of knowledge do not provide an accurate picture of what students really know. Respondents are required to answer multiple-choice questions that emphasize recall of discrete information and do not measure higher-level learning of a subject. Thus the critics say that poor performances on these tests are not necessarily an indicator of the respondents' ignorance (Torney-Purta, 1988, pp. 16-18).

Defenders of these knowledge surveys admit the limitations of the tests and argue that they still are useful in revealing whether the respondents have the knowledge that educators believe they should learn in school. They also contend that acquisition of a minimum knowledge base is a prerequisite to higher-order thinking in government, civics, and law, or other academic subjects (Ravitch and Finn, 1987, pp. 21-28).

Civic Attitudes and Values

Education in government, civics, and law is heavily weighted with attitudes and values associated with constitutional democracy in the United States. To what extent have students formed commitment to standards (values) associated with the Constitution and system of government in the United States? To what extent have they developed positive orientations (attitudes)—based on their values and other beliefs—toward constitutional democracy in the United States?

Adolescents and adults tend to have favorable attitudes toward and values about their Constitution, system of government, and nation (Dalton, 1988, pp. 119-120; Hepburn, 1985; Kammen, 1986, pp. 3-43). These positive and supportive feelings and beliefs emerge at an early age, and they are well developed among youngsters in the upper-elementary and middle school grades. Most children appear to develop these positive attitudes without solid knowledge of their government or civic heritage (Hess and Torney, 1967; Moore et al., 1985). High school students are more likely than preadolescents to express criticism and cynicism about government and politics; this was especially so during and immediately after the era of the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandal (Hastings, 1986, p. 455; Hepburn, 1985, p. 673). High school students are also likely to agree that a "good citizen" can be loyal to the United States and its Constitution and strongly disagree with or dislike government leaders and policies (NASSP, 1984, p. 46). Despite criticisms or doubts about particulars, American adolescents tend to have positive general feelings toward their country and its system of government (NASSP, 1984; Sigel and Hoskin, 1981; Torney et al., 1975).

Attitudes toward constitutional democracy are generally positive. Students express support for majority rule and minority rights. But support for certain liberties and rights tends to decline when they are applied to unpopular minority groups or individuals (Avery, 1988; Hastings, 1986; Hepburn, 1985; McCloskey and Brill, 1983; Sigel and Hoskin, 1981).

The Purdue Youth Opinion polls of the 1950s showed that a large proportion of adolescents were "authoritarian" in their attitudes toward the Bill of Rights; they tended to oppose application of certain rights and liberties to African-Americans, communists, atheists, and other unpopular minority groups or individuals (Remmers and Franklin, 1963). Adolescents of the 1980s were given the same statements about the Bill of Rights as used in the 1950s Purdue polls. In a few responses, the 1980s adolescents were more democratic than their counterparts of the 1950s. But a larger percentage of the 1980s high school students were willing to allow a police search without a warrant, to deny legal counsel to criminals, and to accept restrictions on religious freedom (Elam, 1984).

There has been persistent misunderstanding and lack of commitment to the values inherent in the central paradox of a constitutional democracy: majority rule and minority rights. In the abstract, students express support for constitutional democracy;

but they also tend to hold simplistic conceptions that do not take into account the inherent tensions of majority rule with minority rights (CCE, 1987; NAEP, 1976; Sigel and Hoskin, 1981). Furthermore, students tend to understand and value the majority-rule facet of democracy more than the minority-rights facet (Kammen, 1986, pp. 336-356; Zellman, 1975).

The majoritarian sentiments of students are revealed in their generally favorable views of political participation, especially voting and taking part in an election campaign (NAEP, 1983, p. 14). However, most students express rather low levels of political interest and efficacy. Socioeconomic status—and the values and opportunities that accompany it—are directly associated with levels and amounts of political interest, efficacy, and activity: the higher the individual's socioeconomic status the more likely he/she is to have higher levels of political interest, efficacy, and inclinations to participate (Jennings and Niemi, 1974; Miller, 1985, p. 25-28).

Students' tendencies to express some antidemocratic attitudes and values may be related to the poor quality of textbook treatments of the core concepts of democracy and constitutionalism. It is very possible that students' misconceptions or shallow understanding of core concepts affects their learning of attitudes associated with these concepts (Sigel and Hoskin, 1981).

Skills in Cognitive Processes and Participation

Education for citizenship in a constitutional democracy implies development of students' capabilities to make and judge civic decisions (Remy, 1976). It also denotes ability to act on civic decisions, to influence and implement them. To what extent do adolescents demonstrate the high-level cognitive capacities for making rational civic decisions and taking effective civic action?

In contrast to the domains of civic knowledge and attitudes/values, there is a paucity of data about cognitive- and participation-skill learning directly associated with civic education. The limited data suggest that more than 60 percent of 17-year-olds have certain middle-range cognitive skills, such as the ability to interpret political information in a graph or a brief written statement and to formulate questions to guide the search for data. The majority of these students also demonstrate ability to generate reasonable alternatives and to connect choices with consequences in making civic decisions. Furthermore, most 17-year-olds can distinguish factual statements from value judgments (NAEP, 1983, pp. 5-11).

However, most adolescents are not prepared to use the full range of cognitive skills needed to define, analyze, and evaluate public issues and to make rational decisions about them, because they lack knowledge about these issues (Ravitch and Finn, 1987, pp. 55-58). For example, if students cannot recognize and comprehend their rights in the U.S. Constitution, then they certainly will not be able to reflect cogently upon public issues associated with these rights. In their 1987 report on the National Assessment of History, Ravitch and Finn concluded:

> Many of the most profound issues of contemporary society...have their origins and their defining events in the evolving drama of the Constitution. Yet our youngsters do not know enough about that drama, either in general or in specific terms, to reflect on or think critically about its meaning. (P. 58)

Lack of knowledge about how to participate in civic affairs may also account for low levels of participation and limited development of participation skills among a majority of adolescents and adults (Miller, 1985, pp. 28-29).

Another reason for low levels of cognitive and participation skills among adolescents is lack of emphasis in the classroom on this dimension of civic learning. Goodlad's (1984) nationwide study of schooling found little evidence of critical thinking and concluded that "preoccupation with the lower intellectual processes pervades social studies and science as well" (p. 236). Studies of civics and government textbooks have revealed slight and unsystematic treatments of cognitive and participation skills in the learning activities of these books (Carroll et al., 1987).

Effects of the Classroom and School on Civic Learning

Strengths and weaknesses in civic learning are likely to be associated with the quality of the content and pedagogy to which students are exposed. After all, the learning of students in schools depends to a great extent upon the substance, design, and manner of presentation of their lessons. Furthermore, the organization, operation, and culture of the school may shape important aspects of students' civic learning.

Classroom-level Effects. Civic knowledge of elementary and secondary school students is increased through direct classroom instruction. Students' achievement of civic knowledge is related to the number of courses taken, the regularity of well-organized and detailed learning activities that students are required to complete, and the amount of time spent on lessons in the classroom and on homework. The more engaged learning time that students experience, the more likely they are to increase their learning of civic knowledge (Mullis, 1979; Parker and Kaltsounis, 1986; Patrick, 1972). Students in systematic and extensive law-related education programs have increased their knowledge of the purposes and types of law, state and federal judicial institutions, and rights and responsibilities of citizenship (Johnson and Hunter, 1987).

Direct teaching of civic attitudes and values does not have an independent effect on students' learning; nor does extensive instruction in civic knowledge have a discernible effect on the learning of civic attitudes (Ehman, 1980; Leming, 1985; Patrick, 1972). Positive attitudes and values about patriotism, support for the common good, and various civic virtues are developed among children and adolescents through mutually supportive experiences in the family, church, peer groups, and school and in their exposure to the mass media (Hess and Torney, 1967; Moore et al., 1985). However, evidence from a large study of high school students in Western Europe and the United States indicates that an overemphasis on direct teaching of patriotic attitudes and values in school is associated with lower scores on tests of civic knowledge and diminished support for democratic values (Torney et al., 1975).

The classroom climate established by the teacher is one key to the development of civic attitudes through formal instruction. Another key is regular and systematic teaching about issues. Teachers who emphasize analysis and appraisal of controversial public issues in an "open" classroom environment, where students feel free and secure in their expression of ideas and information, are likely to enhance learning of democratic attitudes, such as political interest, sense of political efficacy, political trust, and respect for the rights of other persons (Eyman, 1980; Goldenson, 1978; Leming, 1985; Torney et al., 1975). Furthermore, teachers increase their students' potential for development of democratic attitudes and values when they provide systematic instruction in critical thinking about public issues and create classroom conditions conducive to the free and open exchange of viewpoints (Guyton, 1988; Hahn, 1988). However, overuse of controversy and one-sided teaching about issues in a "closed" or authoritarian classroom can produce negative effects, such as passivity, disinterest, and civic intolerance (Hahn, 1988).

Evaluators of law-related education programs have claimed that when properly implemented, these programs lead to increased knowledge about the justice system and citizenship rights and responsibilities. These programs also have been touted as contributors to development of positive attitudes toward the law and judicial institutions (Hunter, 1987; Hunter and Turner, 1981; Johnson, 1984; Johnson and Hunter, 1987).

In many LRE programs, analysis of issues and critical thinking in "open" classroom environments have been emphasized. Teaching strategies have involved cooperative learning, higher-order cognition involving critical thinking and decision making, and free exchanges of ideas—all of which have been associated with the development of positive attitudes in various studies of classroom-level effects on learning in the social studies (Cornbleth, 1985; Leming, 1985).

An additional claim for law-related education programs is that they deter juvenile delinquency (Hunter and Turner, 1981). In a thorough critique of LRE evaluation studies, Shaver (1984) disputed this claim, because of serious flaws in the methodology of the study from which it was made, such as the (a) absence of a sound experimental design, (b) reliance on self-report data, and (c) use of correlational data to make cause-effect statements.

Studies of the teaching and learning of higher-order cognitive processes and skills, such as critical thinking and decision making, indicate that students' capabilities are likely to be increased if they practice skills in concert with their learning of specific subject matter, such as content in government or law. Effective instruction in critical thinking interrelates content and cognitive processes because in order to carry out higher-order cognitive operations, the student must know concepts and facts related fundamentally to the question under consideration. A successful critical thinker is also aware of differences in the criteria and evidence used to justify propositions in different subjects, such as history, political science, and law (Cornbleth, 1985).

The formal curriculum and classroom instruction have little or no effect on the political participation of American youth and adults. In particular, data from longitudinal studies indicate that exposure to social studies courses in high school is not related to the kind or quantity of political participation by the students as adults (Jennings and Niemi, 1974; Miller, 1985).

School-level Effects. In addition to teaching and learning in classrooms, educators must be concerned about how the school is organized and managed, about the climate or ethos of the place (Grant, 1981, 1988; Pritchard, 1988). Civic learning results from the interplay of academic experiences in the classroom and practical experiences within the school. So nonclassroom attributes of schools, such as style of administration, executive organization, school governance, peer interactions, and extracurricular programs, are likely to affect profoundly the civic learning of students (Ehman, 1980; Pritchard, 1988).

It is generally accepted that student participation in extracurricular activities of the school is positively related to the development of political efficacy and propensities for participation in civil life outside the school. And it seems that these student activities are much more influential than formal study of academic content in the classroom in the development of positive values and attitudes about participation in public affairs (Ehman, 1980; Jennings and Niemi, 1974).

There may be a positive relationship between "a democratic school climate" and the development of democratic civic attitudes and behavior among students (Ehman, 1980, pp. 110-114; Leming, 1985, pp. 156-163). One experienced researcher (Ehman, 1980) has claimed: "School organizational and governance climate is related to political attitudes of students. More participant and less authoritarian climates are linked to more positive [democratic] political attitudes and behavior of students" (p. 113). Some civic educators have used this "democratic school climate" research to propose active student involvement in decisions about school rules and policies (Hepburn, 1983).

There is, however, another way to look at school-level effects on civic learning; it is based on a growing body of research on school climates and character education that suggests the utility of authoritative leadership by administrators and teachers in achieving democratic citizenship goals (Grant, 1981, 1988; Rutter, Maughan, Mortimore, Ouston, and Smith, 1979). Some educators have used this research to argue against conceiving of the school as a microdemocracy, which mimics the political processes of the local, state, and national governmental system. Rather, they propose school climates in which adults authoritatively and unambiguously support core values of the community as standards for responsible behavior in the school and as preparation for democratic citizenship by students after leaving the school (Grant, 1981, p. 13; Pritchard, 1988, pp. 10-14).

There is obvious agreement in the research literature about the importance of school climate in the development of civic values, attitudes, and behavior for responsible citizenship in a democracy. There is also confusion and contradiction about the meaning of key terms—such as *democratic schooling*—and about the relationships between school-level practices and desired effects of civic education.

Concluding Comments About Problems and Needs

There is ample room for improvement in the teaching and learning of government, civics, and law in American schools. For example, the discussion in a preceding section of this chapter indicated that at least half of the graduates from high school have only superficial knowledge of the institutions, principles, and processes of their constitutional democracy. And more than half of the students appear to have weak orientations toward some core values of their civic heritage, such as the civil rights and liberties of unpopular individuals or minority groups. They also tend to have underdeveloped capacities for making rational civic decisions and taking effective action to advance interests related to their choices. Finally, they are more inclined to be mere spectators and supporters than reflective, interested, and efficacious participants in their political system.

Research on the teaching of government, civics, and law suggests some remedies for deficiencies in students' learning of knowledge and attitudes. For example, a generally accepted conclusion of the literature discussed in the preceding section is that students' learning of democratic attitudes is enhanced by regular and systematic discussions of controversial issues in "open" classroom climates. Another established theme in the literature is that students' achievement of civic knowledge is advanced by increasing their exposure to subject matter through systematic and detailed assignments that compel their attention and commitment.

There also is consensus in the research literature about major deficiencies in the contents of textbooks that are relied upon to convey knowledge of government, civics, and law in classrooms. An implication of these textbook studies is that improvements in students' learning of civic knowledge would be a likely outcome of improvements in the selection and presentation of subject matter in widely used textbooks.

Research discussed in this chapter offers rather limited help to practitioners. The solid findings are too few and unrelated to help practitioners make a powerful difference in how they teach government, civics, and law, and in what their students learn from them. Improvements in research are greatly needed before practitioners can confidently look to it for keys to vastly improved civic learning in schools.

Most studies in this field have been conducted discretely, with little or no grounding in conceptual frameworks or theories that might tie them together. Thus, studies tend to stand alone, which limits their meaning and utility.

Some studies have methodological flaws, which diminish their credibility. Claims about practice made from these studies are of questionable value, and practitioners should be very cautious in using them as guides to teaching and learning. Shaver (1984), for example, has been critical of strong and seemingly unwarranted claims about the effectiveness of law-related education programs in reducing juvenile delinquency and developing positive attitudes toward the law and the judicial system. Cause-effect relationships have been incorrectly based on correlational data, faulty generalizations have been made from unrepresentative samples of respondents, and flawed comparisons have been made of non-equivalent treatment and control groups.. Leming (1985) has also issued warnings about recommendations to practitioners based on the democratic school-climate research, because it "both reflects the paucity of evidence available as well as the eclectic interpretations of democratic education in the literature" (p. 158).

There is a great need for more and better research to assist practitioners—teachers, curriculum developers, and textbook authors. New studies are needed to substantiate or repudiate claims about the effectiveness of law-related education programs. Shaver's critical review (1984) is a useful source of ideas for designers of new LRE studies.

New and improved studies, based on precise use of key concepts and with multiple means of gathering data, are also needed to determine the relative validity of competing interpretations of school-level effects on civic learning. Grant's (1988) methods of on-site observation and participation to gather data about a school's climate and its effects on learning provide a model for other researchers.

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Research is needed about how to improve the delivery of subject matter to learners via textbooks and other media of instruction. Researchers need to move beyond mere assessments of textbook contents to studies of how textbooks are used in classrooms and the various effects on civic learning of different uses of textbooks in teaching. Practitioners also need research about the effects on civic learning of different ways of organizing and presetting subject matter in textbooks, video programs, and computer software. Furthermore, practitioners need help from researchers to guide their decisions about how to vary their packaging and delivering of content to learners of varying backgrounds and abilities.

Curriculum patterns and trends in elementary and secondary schools indicate that government, civics, and law will continue to be mainstays of formal education in the social studies. The teaching and learning of these interrelated subjects—keystones in school programs to educate students for effective citizenship in our constitutional democracy—can be enhanced by more and better research designed to provide dependable findings and recommendations to practitioners.

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C. RESEARCH FROM OTHER FIELDS THAT SUPPORTS THE PROJECT'S VISION OF LRE

While research on law-related/civic education is not as plentiful as practitioners in this field might wish, research in other areas of education provides a great deal of support and guidance for those wishing to implement law-related education as envisioned by the NTDP/YFJ project. Such research is the focus of this section of the compendium, in which we reprint articles that we believe will be especially helpful to LRE program planners and teachers. The articles selected focus on research related to the six components of effective law-related education identified in the SSEC/CAR evaluation study, as well as to aspects of implementation that SSEC's institutionalization study indicated were important.

The articles address three major areas: (1) teaching and learning, (2) teacher collegiality and development, and (3) educational change and administrative support. The articles provided on each topic are described briefly below.

In the area of teaching and learning, relevant research from outside LRE is abundant; for space reasons, we have selected only six articles that we think will be particularly useful to LRE practitioners and leaders. Because the initial impact research in LRE was based on a conception of teaching and learning rooted in effective teaching research of the 1970s, we begin with two articles that provide broader ideas about powerful teaching, drawing on subsequent research on both teaching and learning. First is an article by Lee S. Shulman on "Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform"; the second article, "Beyond 'Effective Teaching': Probing the Subtleties of Subject-Matter Teaching," was written by Jere Brophy.

The following three articles are research reviews more focused on particular aspects of teaching relevant to LRE: cooperative learning research synthesized by Robert E. Slavin, research on discourse in social studies classrooms reviewed by William W. Wilen and Jane J. White, and issues-centered social studies research reviewed by Carole L. Hahn.

The final article in this section serves as a bridge between teaching and learning and the other areas of research examined in this section—teacher collegiality and development and educational change and administrative support. In this article, based on studies conducted at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, as well as a review of the research, Joseph J. Onosko looks at "Barriers to the Promotion of Higher-Order Thinking in Social Studies."

With respect to teacher collegiality and development, we have selected three articles for inclusion. First is an overview of "Practices that Support Teacher Development," written by Ann Lieberman. This article, like several others referenced in the bibliography, examines reasons that the conventional view of staff development as a transferable package of knowledge to be distributed to teachers needs radical rethinking. The second article reviews research on a topic that bridges teacher training and development of collegiality—peer coaching; the article was written by two leading researchers in the field, Beverly Showers and Bruce Joyce. The final selection on this topic is comprised of excerpts from a chapter in the book *Authentic Achievement: Restructuring Schools for Intellectual Quality*. While the book is primarily a report of the School Restructuring Study conducted at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, this chapter on "Schoolwide Professional Community" also reviews other research on developing collegiality.

In the area of educational change and administrative support, we have selected two articles by three leading researchers in the area of educational change. First is an article by Larry Cuban in which he examines why reforms return again and again, even when they have little effect on what actually happens in schools. Cuban traces the history of three reforms that have recurred several time in the 20th century, examines popular explanations for the recursive nature of reforms, and posits his own explanation that takes more of the evidence into account. We include the article here because those planning for change must think more broadly than the "rational" model of school change; Cuban's analysis of political and institutional perspectives provides a starting point for broader thinking about the change process.

The second article in this area was written by Michael G. Fullan and Matthew B. Miles, who draw on the work in educational change—much of it their own work—to identify seven basic reasons why reforms fail and suggest seven lessons or orientations that must be taken into account for reform efforts to be successful. This article is included because its practical but research-based approach makes it a useful planning tool.

The reprinted articles are primarily reviews of research or "think pieces" based on research reviews. Within most articles, therefore, readers will find references to many specific studies that may be worth further investigation. The section also concludes with an annotated bibliography of additional resources that law-related educators might find useful in planning and implementing their programs, organized around the three major topics listed above. This bibliography is by no means comprehensive. Rather, it is intended as a "starter list" of books and articles that can lead law-related educators to a broad area of interesting and helpful research.

Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform*

by Lee S. Shulman, Stanford University

Prologue: A Portrait of Expertise

Richly developed portrayals of expertise in teaching are rare. While many characterizations of effective teachers exist, most of these dwell on the teacher's management of the classroom. We find few descriptions or analyses of teachers that give careful attention not only to the management of students in classrooms, but also to the management of *ideas* within classroom discourse. Both kinds of emphasis will be needed if our portrayals of good practice are to serve as sufficient guides to the design of better education. Let us examine one brief account.

> A twenty-five-year veteran English teacher, Nancy, was the subject of a continuing study of experienced teachers that we had been conducting. The class was nearing the end of the second week of a unit on *Moby Dick*. The observer had been well impressed with the depth of Nancy's understanding of that novel and her skill as a pedagogue, as she documented how Nancy helped a group of California high school juniors grasp the many faces of that masterpiece. Nancy was a highly active teacher, whose classroom style employed substantial interaction with her students, both through recitations and more open-ended discussion. She was like a symphony conductor, posing questions, probing for alternative views, drawing out the shy while tempering the boisterous. Not much happened in the classroom that did not pass through Nancy, whose pacing and ordering, structuring and expanding, controlled the rhythm of classroom life.
>
> Nancy characterized her treatment of literature in terms of a general theoretical model that she employed.
>
> Basically, I break reading skills into four levels:
>
> *Level 1* is simply translation....It is understanding the literal meaning, denotative, and frequently for students that means getting a dictionary.
>
> *Level 2* is connotative meaning and again you are still looking at the words....What does that mean, what does that tell us about the character?...We looked at *The Scarlet Letter*. Hawthorne described a rose bush in the first chapter. Literal level is: What is a rose bush? More important, what does a rose bush suggest, what is it that comes to mind, what did you picture?
>
> *Level 3* is the level of interpretation....It is the implication of Levels 1 and 2. If the author is using a symbol, what does that say about his view of life? In *Moby Dick*, the example I used in class was the boots. The boots would be the literal level. What does it mean when he gets under the bed? And the students would say, he is trying to hide something. Level 3 would be what does Melville say about human nature? What is the implication of this? What does this tell us about this character?
>
> *Level 4* is what I call application and evaluation and I try, as I teach literature, to get the students to Level 4, and that is where they take the literature and see how it has meaning for their own lives. Where would we see that event occur in our own society? How would people that we know be behaving if

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> they are doing what these characters are doing? How is this piece of literature similar to our common experiences as human beings?...So my view of reading is basically to take them from the literal on the page to making it mean something in their lives. In teaching literature I am always working in and out of those levels. (Gudmundsdottir, in preparation)

Nancy employed this conceptual framework in her teaching, using it to guide her own sequencing of material and formulation of questions. She taught the framework explicitly to her students over the semester, helping them employ it like a scaffolding to organize their own study of the texts, to monitor their own thinking. Although as a teacher she maintained tight control of the classroom discourse, her teaching goals were to liberate her students' minds through literacy, eventually to use great works of literature to illuminate their own lives. Whichever work she was teaching, she understood how to organize it, frame it for teaching, divide it appropriately for assignments and activities. She seemed to possess a mental index for these books she had taught so often--*The Red Badge of Courage, Moby Dick, The Scarlet Letter, The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*—with key episodes organized in her mind for different pedagogical purposes, different levels of difficulty, different kinds of pupils, different themes or emphases. Her combination of subject-matter understanding and pedagogical skill was quite dazzling.

When the observer arrived at the classroom one morning, she found Nancy sitting at her desk as usual. But her morning greeting elicited no response from Nancy other than a grimace and motion toward the pad of paper on her desktop. "I have laryngitis this morning and will not be able to speak aloud," said the note. What's more, she appeared to be fighting the flu, for she had little energy. For a teacher who managed her classroom through the power of her voice and her manner, this was certainly a disabling condition. Or was it?

Using a combination of handwritten notes and whispers, she divided the class into small groups by rows, a tactic she had used twice before during this unit. Each group was given a different character who has a prominent role in the first chapters of the novel, and each group was expected to answer a series of questions about that character. Ample time was used at the end of the period for representatives of each group to report to the whole class. Once again the class had run smoothly, and the subject matter had been treated with care. But the style had changed radically, an utterly different teaching technology was employed, and still the students were engaged, and learning appeared to occur.

Subsequently, we were to see many more examples of Nancy's flexible style, adapted to the characteristics of learners, the complexities of subject matter, and her own physical condition. When learners experienced serious problems with a particular text, she self-consciously stayed at the lower levels of the reading ladder, helping the students with denotative and connotative meanings, while emphasizing literary interpretations somewhat less. When teaching *Huck Finn*, a novel she saw as less difficult than *Moby Dick*, her style changed once again. She gave much more autonomy to the students and did not directly run the classroom as much.

> For Huck Finn, she abandoned the stage early on and let the students teach each other. She had the students working independently in eight multi-ability groups, each group tracing one of eight themes: hypocrisy; luck and superstition; greed and materialism; romantic ideas and fantasy; religion and the Bible; social class and customs; family, racism, and prejudice; freedom and conscience. There were only two reading checks at the beginning and only

> two rounds of reporting. Once the groups were underway, Nancy took a seat at the back of the class and only interacted with students when she was called upon, and during group presentations. (Gudmundsdottir, in preparation)

> Thus Nancy's pattern of instruction, her style of teaching, is not uniform or predictable in some simple sense. She flexibly responds to the difficulty and character of the subject matter, the capacities of the students (which can change even over the span of a single course), and her educational purposes. She can not only conduct her orchestra from the podium, she can sit back and watch it play with virtuosity by itself.

What does Nancy believe, understand, and know how to do that permits her to teach as she does? Can other teachers be prepared to teach with such skill? The hope that teaching like Nancy's can become typical instead of unusual motivates much of the effort in the newly proposed reforms of teaching.

The New Reforms

During the past year the U.S. public and its professional educators have been presented with several reports on how to improve teaching as both an activity and a profession. One of the recurring themes of these reports has been the professionalization of teaching—the elevation of teaching to a more respected, more responsible, more rewarding and better rewarded occupation. The claim that teaching deserves professional status, however, is based on a more fundamental premise: that the standards by which the education and performance of teachers must be judged can be raised and more clearly articulated. The advocates of professional reform base their arguments on the belief that there exists a "knowledge base for teaching"—a codified or codifiable aggregation of knowledge, skill, understanding, and technology, of ethics and disposition, of collective responsibility—as well as a means for representing and communicating it. The reports of the Holmes Group (1986) and the Carnegie Task Force (1986) rest on this belief and, furthermore, claim that the knowledge base is growing. They argue that it should frame teacher education and directly inform teaching practice.

The rhetoric regarding the knowledge base, however, rarely specifies the character of such knowledge. It does not say what teachers should know, do, understand, or profess that will render teaching more than a form of individual labor, let alone be considered among the learned professions.

In this paper, I present an argument regarding the content, character, and sources for a knowledge base of teaching that suggests an answer to the question of the intellectual, practical, and normative basis for the professionalization of teaching. The questions that focus the argument are: What are the sources of the knowledge base for teaching? In what terms can these sources be conceptualized? What are the implications for teaching policy and educational reform?[1]

In addressing these questions I am following in the footsteps of many eminent scholars, including Dewey (1904), Scheffler (1965), Green (1971), Fenstermacher (1978), Smith (1980), and Schwab (1983), among others. Their discussions of what qualities and understandings, skills and abilities, and what traits and sensibilities render someone a competent teacher have continued to echo in the conference rooms of educators for generations. My approach has been conditioned, as well, by two current projects: a study of how new teachers learn to teach and an attempt to develop a national board for teaching.

First, for the past three years, my colleagues and I have been watching knowledge of pedagogy and content grow in the minds of young men and women.

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[1] Most of the empirical work on which this essay rests has been conducted with secondary-school teachers, both new and experienced. While I firmly believe that much of the emphasis to be found here on the centrality of content knowledge in pedagogy holds reasonably well for the elementary level as well, I am reluctant to make that claim too boldly. Work currently underway at the elementary level, both by Leinhardt (1983) and her colleagues (for example, Leinhardt and Greeno, 1985; Leinhardt and Smith, 1986) and by our own research group, may help clarify this matter.

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They have generously permitted us to observe and follow their eventful journeys from being teacher education students to becoming neophyte teachers. In this research, we are taking advantage of the kinds of insights Piaget provided from his investigations of knowledge growth. He discovered that he could learn a great deal about knowledge and its development from careful observation of the very young—those who were just beginning to develop and organize their intelligence. We are following this lead by studying those just learning to teach. Their development from student to teachers, from a state of expertise as learners through a novitiate as teachers exposes and highlights the complex bodies of knowledge and skill needed to function effectively as a teacher. The result is that error, success, and refinement—in a word, teacher-knowledge growth—are seen in high profile and in slow motion. the neophyte's stumble becomes the scholar's window.

Concurrently, we have found and explored cases of veteran teachers such as Nancy (Baxter, in preparation; Gudmundsdottir, in preparation; Hashweh, 1985) to compare with those of the novices. What these studies show is that the knowledge, understanding, and skill we see displayed haltingly, and occasionally masterfully, among beginners are often demonstrated with ease by the expert. But, as we have wrestled with our cases, we have repeatedly asked what teachers knew (or failed to know) that permitted them to teach in a particular manner.

Second, for much of the past year, I have engaged in quite a different project on the role of knowledge in teaching. In conjunction with the recent Carnegie initiative for the reform of the teaching profession, my colleagues and I have been studying ways to design a national board assessment for teaching, parallel in several ways to the National Board of Medical Examiners (Shulman and Sykes, 1986; Sykes, 1986). This challenge renders the questions about the definition and operationalization of knowledge in teaching as far more than academic exercises. If teachers are to be certified on the basis of well-grounded judgments and standards, then those standards on which a national board relies must be legitimized by three factors: they must be closely tied to the findings of scholarship in the academic disciplines that form the curriculum (such as English, physics, and history) as well as those that serve as foundations for the process of education (such as psychology, sociology, or philosophy); they must possess intuitive credibility (or "face validity") in the opinions of the professional community in whose interests they have been designed; and they must relate to the appropriate normative conceptions of teaching and teacher education.

The new reform proposals carry assumptions about the knowledge base for teaching: when advocates of reform suggest that requirements for the education of teachers should be augmented and periods of training lengthened, they assume there must be something substantial to be learned. When they recommend that standards be raised and a system of examinations introduced, they assume there must exist a body of knowledge and skill to examine. Our research and that of others (for example, Berliner, 1986; Leinhardt and Greeno, 1986) have identified the sources and suggested outlines of that knowledge base. Watching veterans such as Nancy teach the same material that poses difficulties for novice teachers helped focus our attention on what kinds of knowledge and skill were needed to teach demanding materials well. By focusing on the teaching of particular topics—*Huck Finn*, quadratic equations, the Indian subcontinent, photosynthesis—we learned how particular kinds of content knowledge and pedagogical strategies necessarily interacted in the minds of teachers.

What follows is a discussion of the sources and outlines of the required knowledge base for teaching. I divided this discussion into two distinct analyses. First, after providing an overview of one framework for a knowledge base for teaching, I examine the *sources* of that knowledge base, that is, the domains of scholarship and experience from which teachers may draw their understanding. Second, I explore the processes of pedagogical reasoning and action within which such teacher knowledge is used.

The Knowledge Base

Begin a discussion on the knowledge base of teaching, and several related questions immediately arise: What knowledge base? Is enough known about teaching to support a knowledge base? Isn't teaching little more than personal style, artful communication, knowing some subject matter, and applying the results of recent research on teaching effectiveness? Only the last of these, the findings of research on effective teaching, is typically deemed a legitimate part of a knowledge base.

The actions of both policymakers and teacher educators in the past have been consistent with the formulation that teaching requires basic skills, content knowledge, and general pedagogical skills. Assessments of teachers in most states consist of some combination of basic-skills tests, an examination of competence in subject matter, and observations in the classroom to ensure that certain kinds of general teaching behavior are present. In this manner, I would argue, teaching is trivialized, its complexities ignored, and its demands diminished. Teachers themselves have difficulty in articulating what they know and how they know it.

Nevertheless, the policy community at present continues to hold that the skills needed for teaching are those identified in the empirical research on teaching effectiveness. This research, summarized by Brophy and Good (1986), Gage (1986), and Rosenshine and Stevens (1986), was conducted within the psychological research tradition. It assumes that complex forms of situation-specific human performance can be understood in terms of the workings of underlying generic processes. In a study of teaching context, the research, therefore, seeks to identify those general forms of teaching behavior that correlate with student performance on standardized tests, whether in descriptive or experimental studies. The investigators who conduct the research realize that important simplifications must be made, but they believe that these are necessary steps for conducting scientific studies. Critical features of teaching, such as the subject matter being taught, the classroom context, the physical and psychological characteristics of the students, or the accomplishment of purposes not readily assessed on standardized tests, are typically ignored in the quest for general principles of effective teaching.

When policymakers have sought "research-based" definitions of good teaching to serve as the basis for teacher tests or systems of classroom observation, the lists of teacher behaviors that had been identified as effective in the empirical research were translated into the desirable competencies for classroom teachers. They became items on tests or on classroom-observation scales. They were accorded legitimacy because they had been "confirmed by research." While the researchers understood the findings to be simplified and incomplete, the policy community accepted them as sufficient for the definitions of standards.

For example, some research had indicated that students achieved more when teachers explicitly informed them of the lesson's objective. This seems like a perfectly reasonable finding. When translated into policy, however, classroom-observation competency-rating scales asked whether the teacher had written the objective on the blackboard and/or directly told the student the objectives at the beginning of class. If the teacher had not, he or she was marked off for failing to demonstrate a desired competency. No effort was made to discover whether the withholding of an objective might have been consistent with the form of the lesson being organized or delivered.

Moreover, those who hold with bifurcating content and teaching processes have once again introduced into policy what had been merely an act of scholarly convenience and simplification in the research. Teaching processes were observed and evaluated without reference to the adequacy or accuracy of the ideas transmitted. In many cases, observers were not expected to have content expertise in the areas being observed, because it did not matter for the rating of teacher performance. Thus, what may have been an acceptable strategy for research became an unacceptable policy for teacher evaluation.

In this paper I argue that the results of research on effective teaching, while valuable, are not the sole source of evidence on which to base a definition of the knowledge base of teaching. Those sources should be understood to be far richer and more extensive. Indeed, properly understood, the actual and potential sources for a knowledge base are so plentiful that our question should not be, Is there really much one needs to know in order to teach? Rather, it should express our wonder at how the extensive knowledge of teaching can be learned at all during the brief period allotted to teacher preparation. Much of the rest of this paper provides the details of the argument that there exists an elaborate knowledge base for teaching.

A View of Teaching

I begin with the formulation that the capacity to teach centers around the following commonplaces of teaching, paraphrased from Fenstermacher (1986). A teacher knows something not understood by others, presumably the students. The teacher can transform understanding, performance skills, or desired attitudes or values into pedagogical representations and actions. These are ways of talking, showing, enacting, or otherwise representing ideas so that the unknowing can come to know, those without understanding can comprehend and discern, and the unskilled can become adept. Thus, teaching necessarily begins with a teacher's understanding of what is to be learned and how it is to be taught. It proceeds through a series of activities during which the students are provided specific instruction and opportunities for learning,[2] though the learning itself ultimately remains the responsibility of the students. Teaching ends with new comprehension by both the teacher and the students.[3] Although this is certainly a core conception of teaching, it is also an incomplete conception. Teaching must properly be understood to be more than the enhancement of understanding; but if it is not even that, then questions regarding performance of its other functions remain moot. The next step is to outline the categories of knowledge that underlie the teacher understanding needed to promote comprehension among students.

Categories of the Knowledge Base

If teacher knowledge were to be organized into a handbook, an encyclopedia, or some other format for arraying knowledge, what would the category headings look like?[4] At minimum, they would include:

- content knowledge;
- general pedagogical knowledge, with special reference to those broad principles and strategies of classroom management and organization that appear to transcend subject matter;
- curriculum knowledge, with particular grasp of the materials and programs that serve as "tools of the trade" for teachers;
- pedagogical content knowledge, that special amalgam of content and pedagogy that is uniquely the province of teachers, their own special form of professional understanding;
- knowledge of learners and their characteristics;
- knowledge of educational contexts, ranging from the workings of the group or classroom,

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[2] There are several aspects of this formulation that are unfortunate, if only for the impression they may leave. The rhetoric of the analysis, for example, is not meant to suggest that education is reduced to knowledge transmission, the conveying of information from an active teacher to a passive learner, and that this information is viewed as product rather than process. My conception of teaching is not limited to direct instruction. Indeed, my affinity for discovery learning and inquiry teaching is both enthusiastic and ancient (for example, Shulman and Keislar, 1966). Yet even in those most student-centered forms of education, where much of the initiative is in the hands of the students, there is little room for teacher ignorance. Indeed, we have reason to believe that teacher comprehension is even more critical for the inquiry-oriented classroom than for its more didactic alternative.

Central to my concepts of teaching are the objectives of students learning how to understand and solve problems, learning to think critically and creatively as well as learning facts, principles, and rules of procedure. Finally, I understand that the learning of subject matter is often not an end in itself, but rather a vehicle employed in the service of other goals. Nevertheless, at least at the secondary level, subject matter is a nearly universal vehicle for instruction, whatever the ultimate goal.

[3] This formulation is drawn from the teacher's perspective and, hence, may be viewed by some readers as overly teacher-centered. I do not mean to diminish the centrality of student learning for the process of education, nor the priority that must be given to student learning over teacher comprehension. But our analyses of effective teaching must recognize that outcomes *for teachers* as well as pupils must be considered in any adequate treatment of educational outcomes.

[4] I have attempted this list in other publications, though, admittedly, not with great cross-article consistency (for example, Shulman, 1986b; Shulman and Sykes, 1986; Wilson, Shulman and Richert, in press).

the governance and financing of school districts, to the character of communities and cultures; and

- knowledge of educational ends, purposes, and values, and their philosophical and historical grounds.

Among those categories, pedagogical content knowledge is of special interest because it identifies the distinctive bodies of knowledge for teaching. It represents the blending of content and pedagogy into an understanding of how particular topics, problems, or issues are organized, represented, and adapted to the diverse interests and abilities of learners, and presented for instruction. Pedagogical content knowledge is the category most likely to distinguish the understanding of the content specialist from that of the pedagogue. While far more can be said regarding the categories of a knowledge base for teaching, elucidation of them is not a central purpose of this paper.

Enumerating the Sources

There are at least four major sources of the teaching knowledge base: (1) scholarship in content disciplines, (2) the materials and settings of the institutionalized educational process (for example, curricula, textbooks, school organizations and finance, and the structure of the teaching profession), (3) research on schooling, social organizations, human learning, teaching and development, and the other social and cultural phenomena that affect what teachers can do, and (4) the wisdom of practice itself. Let me elaborate on each of these.

Scholarship in Content Discipline. The first source of the knowledge base is content knowledge—the knowledge, understanding, skill, and disposition that are to be learned by school children. This knowledge rests on two foundations: the accumulated literature and studies in the content areas, and the historical and philosophical scholarship on the nature of knowledge in those fields of study. For example, the teacher of English should know English and American prose and poetry, written and spoken language use and comprehension, and grammar. In addition, he or she should be familiar with the critical literature that applies to particular novels or epics that are under discussion in class. Moreover, the teacher should understand alternative theories of interpretation and criticism, and how these might relate to issues of curriculum and of teaching.

Teaching is, essentially, a learned profession. A teacher is a member of a scholarly community. He or she must understand the structures of subject matter, the principles of conceptual organization, and the principles of inquiry that help answer two kinds of questions in each field: What are the important ideas and skills in this domain? and How are new ideas added and deficient ones dropped by those who produce knowledge in this area? That is, what are the rules and procedures of good scholarship or inquiry? These questions parallel what Schwab (1964) has characterized as knowledge of substantive and syntactic structures, respectively. This view of the sources of content knowledge necessarily implies that the teacher must have not only depth of understanding with respect to the particular subjects taught, but also a broad liberal education that serves as a framework for old learning and as a facilitator for new understanding. The teacher has special responsibilities in relation to content knowledge, serving as the primary source of student understanding of subject matter. The manner in which that understanding is communicated conveys to students what is essential about a subject and what is peripheral. In the face of student diversity, the teacher must have a flexible and multifaceted comprehension, adequate to impart alternative explanations of the same concepts or principles. The teacher also communicates, whether consciously or not, ideas about the ways in which "truth" is determined in a field and a set of attitudes and values that markedly influence student understanding. This responsibility places special demands on the teacher's own depth of understanding of the structures of the subject matter, as well as on the teacher's attitudes toward and enthusiasms for what is being taught and learned. These many aspects of content knowledge, therefore, are properly understood as a central feature of the knowledge base of teaching.

Educational Materials and Structures. To advance the aims of organized schooling, materials and structures for teaching and learning are created. These include: curricula with their scopes and sequences; tests and testing materials; institutions with their hierarchies, their explicit and implicit systems of rules and roles; professional teachers' organizations with their functions of negotiation, social change, and mutual protection; government agencies from the district through the state and federal levels; and general mechanisms of governance and finance. Because teachers necessarily function within a matrix created by these elements, using and being used by them, it stands to reason that the principles, policies, and facts of their functioning comprise a major source for the knowledge base. There is no need to claim that a specific literature undergirds this source, although there is certainly abundant research literature in most of these domains. But if a teacher has to "know the territory" of teaching, then it is the landscape of such materials, institutions, organizations, and mechanisms with which he or she must be familiar. These comprise both the tools of the trade and the contextual conditions that will either facilitate or inhibit teaching efforts.

Formal Educational Scholarship. A third source is the important and growing body of scholarly literature devoted to understanding the processes of schooling, teaching, and learning. This literature includes the findings and methods of empirical research in the areas of teaching, learning, and human development, as well as the normative, philosophical, and ethical foundations of education.

The normative and theoretical aspects of teaching's scholarly knowledge are perhaps most important. Unfortunately, educational policymakers and staff developers tend to treat only the findings of empirical research on teaching and learning as relevant portions of the scholarly knowledge base. But these research findings, while important and worthy of careful study, represent only one facet of the contribution of scholarship. Perhaps the most enduring and powerful scholarly influences on teachers are those that enrich their images of the possible: their visions of what constitutes good education, or what a well-educated youngster might look like if provided with appropriate opportunities and stimulation.

The writings of Plato, Dewey, Neill, and Skinner all communicate their conceptions of what a good educational system should be. In addition, many works written primarily to disseminate empirical research findings also serve as important sources of these concepts. I count among these such works as Bloom's (1976) on mastery learning and Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) on teacher expectations. Quite independent of whether the empirical claims of those books can be supported, their impact on teachers' conceptions of the possible and desirable ends of education is undeniable. Thus, the philosophical, critical, and empirical literature which can inform the goals, visions, and dreams of teachers is a major portion of the scholarly knowledge base of teaching.

A more frequently cited kind of scholarly knowledge grows out of the empirical study of teaching effectiveness. This research has been summarized recently by Gage (1978, 1986), Shulman (1986a), Brophy and Good (1986), and Rosenshine and Stevens (1986). The essential goal of this program of research has been to identify those teacher behaviors and strategies most likely to lead to achievement gains among students. Because the search has focused on generic relationships—teacher behaviors associated with student academic gains irrespective of subject matter or grade level—the findings have been much more closely connected with the management of classrooms than with the subtleties of content pedagogy. That is, the effective-teaching principles deal with making classrooms places where pupils can attend to instructional tasks, orient themselves toward learning with a minimum of disruption and distraction, and receive a fair and adequate opportunity to learn. Moreover, the educational purposes for which these research results are most relevant are the teaching of skills. Rosenshine (1986) has observed that effective teaching research has much less to offer to the teaching of understanding, especially of complex written material; thus, the research applies more to teaching a skill like multiplication than to teaching critical interpretations of, say, the *Federalist Papers*.

There are a growing number of such generic principles of effective teaching, and they have already found their way into examinations such as the National Teachers Examination and into state-level assessments of teaching performance during the first teaching year. Their weakness, that they essentially ignore the content-specific character of most teaching, is also their strength. Discovering, explicating, and codifying general teaching principles simplify the otherwise outrageously complex activity of teaching. The great danger occurs, however, when a general teaching principle is distorted into prescription, when maxim becomes mandate. Those states that have taken working principles of teaching, based solely on empirical studies of generic teaching effectiveness, and have rendered them as hard, independent criteria for judging a teacher's worth, are engaged in a political process likely to injure the teaching profession rather than improve it.

The results of research on learning and development also fall within the area of empirical research findings. This research differs from research on teaching by the unit of investigation. Studies of teaching typically take place in conventional classrooms. Learning and development are ordinarily studied in individuals. Hence, teaching studies give accounts of how teachers cope with the inescapable character of schools as places where groups of students work and learn in concert. By comparison, learning and development studies produce principles of individual thought or behavior that must often be generalized to groups with caution if they are to be useful for schoolteaching.

The research in these domains can be both generic and content-specific. For example, cognitive psychological research contributes to the development of understanding of how the mind works to store, process, and retrieve information. Such general understanding can certainly be a source of knowledge for teachers, just as the work of Piaget, Maslow, Erikson, or Bloom has been and continues to be. We also find work on specific subject matter and student developmental levels that is enormously useful; for example, we learn about student misconceptions in the learning of arithmetic by elementary school youngsters (Erlwanger, 1975) or difficulties in grasping principles of physics by university and secondary school students (for example, Clement, 1982). Both these sorts of research contribute to a knowledge base for teaching.

Wisdom of Practice. The final source of the knowledge base is the least codified of all. It is the wisdom of practice itself, the maxims that guide (or provide reflective rationalization for) the practices of able teachers. One of the most important tasks for the research community is to work with practitioners to develop codified representations of the practical pedagogical wisdom of able teachers. As indicated above, much of the conception of teaching embodied in this paper is derived from collecting, examining, and beginning to codify the emerging wisdom of practice among both inexperienced and experienced teachers.

The portrait of Nancy with which this paper began is only one of the many descriptions and analyses of excellent teaching we have been collecting over the past few years. As we organize and interpret such data, we attempt to infer principles of good practice that can serve as useful guidelines for efforts of educational reform. We attempt to keep the accounts highly contextualized, especially with respect to the content-specificity of the pedagogical strategies employed. In this manner we contribute to the documentation of good practice as a significant source for teaching standards. We also attempt to lay a foundation for a scholarly literature that records the details and rationales for specific pedagogical practice.

One of the frustrations of teaching as an occupation and profession is its extensive individual and collective amnesia, the consistency with which the best creations of its practitioners are lost to both contemporary and future peers. Unlike fields such as architecture (which preserves its creations in both plans and edifices), law (which builds a case literature on opinions and interpretations), medicine (with its records and case studies), and even unlike chess, bridge, or ballet (with their traditions of preserving both memorable games and choreographed performances through inventive forms of notation and recording), teaching is conducted without an audience of peers. It is devoid of a history of practice.

Without such a system of notation and memory, the next steps of analysis, interpretation, and codification of principles of practice are hard to pursue. We have concluded from our research with teachers at all levels of experience that the potentially codifiable knowledge that can be gleaned from the wisdom of practice is extensive. Practitioners simply know a great deal that they have never even tried to articulate. A major portion of the research agenda for the next decade will be to collect, collate, and interpret the practical knowledge of teachers for the purpose of establishing a case literature and codifying its principles, precedents, and parables (Shulman, 1986b). A significant portion of the research agenda associated with the Carnegie program to develop new assessments for teachers involves the conducting of "wisdom-of-practice" studies. These studies record and organize the reasoning and actions of gifted teachers into cases to establish standards of practice for a particular area of teaching.[5]

A knowledge base for teaching is not fixed and final. Although teaching is among the world's oldest professions, educational research, especially the systematic study of teaching, is a relatively new enterprise. We may be able to offer a compelling argument for the broad outlines and categories of the knowledge base for teaching. It will, however, become abundantly clear that much, if not most, of the proposed knowledge base remains to be discovered, invented, and refined. As more is learned about teaching, we will come to recognize new categories of performance and understanding that are characteristic of good teachers, and will have to reconsider and redefine other domains. Our current "blueprint" for the knowledge base of teaching has many cells or categories with only the most rudimentary placeholders, much like the chemist's periodic table of a century ago. As we proceed, we will know that something can be known in principle about a particular aspect of teaching, but we will not yet know what the principle or practice entails. At base, however, we believe that scholars and expert teachers are able to define, describe, and reproduce good teaching.

The Processes of Pedagogical Reasoning and Action

The conception of teaching I shall discuss has emerged from a number of sources, both philosophical and empirical. A key source has been the several dozen teachers whom we have been studying in our research during the past three years. Through interviews, observations, structured tasks, and examination of materials, we have attempted to understand how they commute from the status of learner to that of teacher,[6] from being able to comprehend subject matter for themselves, to becoming able to elucidate subject matter in new ways, reorganize and partition it, clothe it in activities and emotions, in metaphors and exercises, and in examples and demonstrations, so that it can be grasped by students.

As we have come to view teaching, it begins with an act of reason, continues with a process of reasoning, culminates in performances of imparting, eliciting, involving, or enticing, and is then thought about some more until the process can begin again. In the discussion of teaching that follows, we will emphasize teaching as comprehension and reasoning, as transformation and reflection. This emphasis is justified by the resoluteness with which research and policy have so blatantly ignored those aspects of teaching in the past.

Fenstermacher (1978, 1986) provides a useful framework for analysis. The goal of teacher education, he argues, is not to indoctrinate or train teachers to behave in prescribed ways, but to educate teachers to reason soundly about their teaching as well as to perform skillfully. Sound reasoning requires both a process of thinking about what they are doing and an adequate base of facts, principles, and experiences from which to reason. Teachers must learn to use their knowledge base to provide the grounds for choices and actions. Therefore, teacher education must work with the beliefs that guide teacher actions, with the principles and evidence that underlie the choices teachers make. Such reasons (called "premises of the practical argument" in the analysis of Green, 1971, on which Fenstermacher bases his argument) can be predominantly arbitrary or idiosyncratic ("It sure seemed like the right idea at the time!" "I don't know much about teaching, but I know what I like."), or they can rest on ethical, empirical, theoretical, or practical principles that have substantial support among members of the professional community of teachers. Fenstermacher argues that good teaching not only is effective behaviorally, but must rest on a foundation of adequately grounded premises.

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[5] It might be argued that the sources of skilled performances are typically tacit, and unavailable to the practitioner. But teaching requires a special kind of expertise or artistry, for which explaining and showing are the central features. Tacit knowledge among teachers is of limited value if the teachers are held responsible for explaining what they do and why they do it, to their students, their communities, and their peers.

[6] The metaphor of commuting is not used idly. The journey between learner and teacher is not one-way. In the best teachers, as well as in the more marginal, new learning is constantly required for teaching.

When we examine the quality of teaching, the idea of influencing the grounds or reasons for teachers' decisions places the emphasis precisely where it belongs: on the features of pedagogical reasoning that lead to or can be invoked to explain pedagogical actions. We must be cautious, however, lest we place undue emphasis upon the ways teachers reason to achieve particular ends, at the expense of attention to the grounds they present for selecting the ends themselves. Teaching is both effective and normative; it is concerned with both means and ends. Processes of reasoning underlie both. The knowledge base must therefore deal with the purposes of education as well as the methods and strategies of educating.

This image of teaching involves the exchange of ideas. The idea is grasped, probed, and comprehended by a teacher, who then must turn it about in his or her mind, seeing many sides of it. Then the idea is shaped or tailored until it can in turn be grasped by students. This grasping, however, is not a passive act. Just as the teacher's comprehension requires a vigorous interaction with the ideas, so students will be expected to encounter ideas actively as well. Indeed, our exemplary teachers present ideas in order to provoke the constructive processes of their students and not to incur student dependence on teachers or to stimulate the flatteries of imitation.[7]

Comprehension alone is not sufficient. The usefulness of such knowledge lies in its value for judgment and action. Thus, in response to my aphorism, "Those who can, do; those who understand, teach" (Shulman, 1986b, p. 14), Petrie (1986) correctly observed that I had not gone far enough. Understanding, he argued, must be linked to judgment and action, to the proper uses of understanding in the forging of wise pedagogical decisions.

Aspects of Pedagogical Reasoning

I begin with the assumption that most teaching is initiated by some form of "text": a textbook, a syllabus, or an actual piece of material that the teacher or student wishes to have understood. The text may be a vehicle for the accomplishment of other educational purposes, but some sort of teaching material is almost always involved. The following conception of pedagogical reasoning and action is taken from the point of view of the teacher, who is presented with the challenge of taking what he or she already understands and making it ready for effective instruction. The model of pedagogical reasoning and action is summarized in Table 1.

Given a text, educational purposes, and/or a set of ideas, pedagogical reasoning and action involve a cycle through the activities for comprehension, transformation, instruction, evaluation, and reflection.[8] The starting point and terminus for the process is an act of comprehension.

Comprehension. To teach is first to understand. We ask that the teacher comprehend critically a set

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[7] The direction and sequence of instruction can be quite different as well. Students can literally initiate the process, proceeding by discovering, inventing, or inquiring, to prepare their own representations and transformations. Then it is the role of the teacher to respond actively and creatively to those student initiatives. In each case the teacher needs to possess both the comprehension and the capacities for transformation. In the student-initiated case, the flexibility to respond, judge, nurture, and provoke student creativity will depend on the teacher's own capacities for sympathetic transformation and interpretation.

[8] Under some conditions, teaching may begin with "given a group of students." It is likely that at the early elementary grades, or in special education classes or other settings where children have been brought together for particular reasons, the starting point for reasoning about instruction may well be at the characteristics of the group itself. There are probably some days when a teacher necessarily uses the youngsters as a starting point.

TABLE 1

A Model of Pedagogical Reasoning and Action

Comprehension

Of purposes, subject matter structures, ideas within and outside the discipline

Transformation

Preparation: critical interpretation and analysis of texts, structuring and segmenting, development of a curricular repertoire, and clarification of purposes.

Representation: use of a representational repertoire which includes analogies, metaphors, examples, demonstrations, explanations, and so forth.

Selection: choice from among an instructional repertoire which includes modes of teaching, organizing, managing, and arranging.

Adaptation and Tailoring to Student Characteristics: consideration of conceptions, preconceptions, misconceptions, and difficulties, language, culture, and motivations, social class, gender, age, ability, aptitude, interests, self concepts, and attention.

Instruction

Management, presentations, interactions, group work, discipline, humor, questioning, and other aspects of active teaching, discovery or inquiry instruction, and the observable forms of classroom teaching.

Evaluation

Checking for student understanding during interactive teaching.

Testing student understanding at the end of lessons or units.

Evaluating one's own performance, and adjusting for experiences.

Reflection

Reviewing, reconstructing, reenacting and critically analyzing one's own and the class's performance, and grounding explanations in evidence.

New Comprehensions

Of purposes, subject matter, students, teaching, and self.

Consolidation of new understandings, and learnings from experience.

of ideas to be taught.[9] We expect teachers to understand what they teach and, when possible, to understand it in several ways. They should understand how a given idea relates to other ideas within the same subject area and to ideas in other subjects as well.

Comprehension of purposes is also central here. We engage in teaching to achieve educational purposes, to accomplish ends having to do with student literacy, student freedom to use and enjoy, student responsibility to care and care for, to believe and respect, to inquiry and discover, to develop understandings, skills, and values needed to function in a free and just society. As teachers, we also strive to balance our goals of fostering individual excellence with more general ends involving equality of opportunity and equity among students of different backgrounds and cultures. Although most teaching begins with some sort of text, and the learning of that text can be a worthy end in itself, we should not lose sight of the fact that the text is often a vehicle for achieving other educational purposes. The goals of education transcend the comprehension of particular texts, but may be unachievable without it.

Saying that a teacher must first comprehend both content and purposes, however, does not particularly distinguish a teacher from non-teaching peers. We expect a math major to understand mathematics or a history specialist to comprehend history. But the key to distinguishing the knowledge base of teaching lies at the intersection of content and pedagogy, in the capacity of a teacher to transform the content knowledge he or she possesses into forms that are pedagogically powerful and yet adaptive to the variations in ability and background presented by the students. We now turn to a discussion of transformation and its components.

Transformation. Comprehended ideas must be transformed in some manner if they are to be taught. To reason one's way through an act of teaching is to think one's way from the subject matter as understood by the teacher into the minds and motivations of learners. Transformations, therefore, require some combination or ordering of the following processes, each of which employs a kind of repertoire: (1) preparation (of the given text materials) including the process of critical interpretation, (2) representation of the ideas in the form of new analogies, metaphors, and so forth, (3) instructional selections from among an array of teaching methods and models, and (4) adaptation of these representations to the general characteristics of the children to be taught, as well as (5) tailoring the adaptations to the specific youngsters in the classroom. These forms of transformation, these aspects of the process wherein one moves from personal comprehension to preparing for the comprehension of others, are the essence of the act of pedagogical reasoning, of teaching as thinking, and of planning—whether explicitly or implicitly—the performance of teaching.

Preparation involves examining and critically interpreting the materials of instruction in terms of the teacher's own understanding of the subject matter (Ben-Peretz, 1975). That is, one scrutinizes the teaching material in light of one's own comprehension and asks whether it is "fit to be taught." This process of preparation will usually include (1) detecting and correcting errors of omission and commission in the text, and (2) the crucial processes of structuring and segmenting the material into forms better adapted to the teacher's understanding and, in prospect, more suitable for teaching. One also scrutinizes educational purposes or goals. We find examples of this preparation process in a number of our studies. Preparation certainly draws upon the availability of a curricular repertoire, a grasp of the full array of extant instructional materials, programs, and conceptions.

Representation involves thinking through the key ideas in the text or lesson and identifying the alternative ways of representing them to students. What analogies, metaphors, examples, demonstrations, simulations, and the like can help to build a bridge between the teacher's comprehension and that desired for the students? Multiple forms of representation are desirable. We speak of the importance of a representational repertoire in this activity.[10]

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[9] Other views of teaching will also begin with comprehension, but of something other than the ideas or text to be taught and learned. They may focus on comprehension of a particular set of values, of the characteristics, needs, interests, or propensities of a particular individual or group of learners. But some sort of comprehension (or self-conscious confusion, wonder, or ignorance) will always initiate teaching.

Instructional selections occur when the teacher must move from the reformulation of content through representations to the embodiment of representations in instructional forms or methods. Here the teacher draws upon an instructional repertoire of approaches or strategies of teaching. This repertoire can be quite rich, including not only the more conventional alternatives such as lecture, demonstration, recitation, or seatwork, but also a variety of forms of cooperative learning reciprocal teaching, Socratic dialogue, discovery learning, project methods, and learning outside the classroom setting.

Adaptation is the process of fitting the represented material to the characteristics of the students. What are the relevant aspects of student ability, gender, language, culture, motivations, or prior knowledge and skills that will affect their responses to different forms of representation and presentation? What student conceptions, misconceptions, expectations, motives, difficulties, or strategies might influence the ways in which they approach, interpret, understand, or misunderstand the material? Related to adaptation is tailoring, which refers to the fitting of the material to the specific students in one's classrooms rather than to students in general. When a teacher thinks through the teaching of something, the activity is a bit like the manufacture of a suit of clothing. Adaptation is like preparing a suit of a particular style, color, and size that can be hung on a rack. Once it is prepared for purchase by a particular customer, however, it must be tailored to fit perfectly.

Moreover, the activity of teaching is rarely engaged with a single student at a time. This is a process for which the special term "tutoring" is needed. When we speak of teaching under typical school circumstances, we describe an activity which brings instruction to groups of at least fifteen—or more typically, twenty-five to thirty-five—students. Thus, the tailoring of instruction entails fitting representations not only to particular students, but also to a group of a particular size, disposition, receptivity, and interpersonal "chemistry."

All these processes of transformation result in a plan, or set of strategies, to present a lesson, unit, or course. Up to this point, of course, it is all a rehearsal for the performances of teaching which have not yet occurred. Pedagogical reasoning is as much a part of teaching as is the actual performance itself. Reasoning does not end when instruction begins. The activities of comprehension, transformation, evaluation, and reflection continue to occur during active teaching. Teaching itself becomes a stimulus for thoughtfulness as well as for action. We therefore turn next to the performance that consummates all this reasoning in the act of instruction.

Instruction. This activity involves the observable performance of the variety of teaching acts. It includes many of the most crucial aspects of pedagogy: organizing and managing the classroom; presenting clear explanations and vivid descriptions; assigning and checking work; and interacting effectively with students through questions and probes, answers and reactions, and praise and criticism. It thus includes management, explanation, discussion, and all the observable features of effective direct and heuristic instruction already well-documented in the research literature on effective teaching.

We have compelling reasons to believe that there are powerful relationships between the comprehension of a new teacher and the styles of teaching employed. An example, based on the research of Grossman (1985), will illustrate this point.

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[10] The centrality of representation to our conception of pedagogical reasoning is important for relating our model of teaching to more general approaches to the study of human thinking and problem solving. Cognitive psychologists (for example, Gardner, 1986; Marton, 1986; Norman, 1980) argue that processes of internal representation are key elements in any cognitive psychology. "To my mind, the major accomplishment of cognitive science has been the clear demonstration of the validity of positing a level of mental representation: a set of constructs that can be invoked for the explanation of cognitive phenomena, ranging from visual perception to story comprehension" (Gardner, 1986, p. 383). Such a linkage between models of pedagogy and models of more general cognitive functioning can serve as an important impetus for the needed study of teacher thinking.

Colleen had completed a master's degree in English before entering a teacher education program. She expressed confidence in her command of the subject matter and began her internship with energy and enthusiasm. Her view of literature and its teaching was highly interpretive and interactive. She saw fine literature as layered communication, capable of many diverse readings and interpretations. Moreover, she felt that these various readings should be provided by her students through their own careful reading of the texts.

Colleen was so committed to helping students learn to read texts carefully, a habit of mind not often found among the young or old, that she constructed one assignment in which each student was asked to bring to school the lyrics of a favorite rock song. (She may have realized that some of these song lyrics were of questionable taste, but preferred to maximize motivation rather than discretion in this particular unit.) She then asked them to rewrite each line of the song, using synonyms or paraphrases to replace every original word. For many, it was the first time they had looked at any piece of text with such care.

When teaching a piece of literature, Colleen performed in a highly interactive manner, drawing out student ideas about a phrase or line, accepting multiple competing interpretations as long as the student could offer a defense of the construction by reference to the text itself. Student participation was active and hearty in these sessions. Based on these observations, one would have characterized Colleen's teaching style with descriptors such as student-centered, discussion-based, occasionally Socratic, or otherwise highly interactive.

Several weeks later, however, we observed Colleen teaching a unit on grammar. Although she had completed two university degrees in English, Colleen had received almost no preparation in prescriptive grammar. However, since a typical high school English class includes some grammar in addition to the literature and writing, it was impossible to avoid teaching the subject. She expressed some anxiety about it during a pre-observational interview.

Colleen looked like a different teacher during that lesson. Her interactive style evaporated. In its place was a highly didactic, teacher-directed, swiftly paced combination of lecture and tightly-controlled recitation: Socrates replaced by DISTAR. I sometimes refer to such teaching as the Admiral Farragut style, "Damn the questions, full speed ahead." Students were not given opportunities to raise questions or offer alternative views. After the session, she confessed to the observer that she had actively avoided making eye contact with one particular student in the front row because that youngster always had good questions or ideas and in this particular lesson Colleen really didn't want to encourage either, because she wasn't sure of the answers. She was uncertain about the content and adapted her instructional style to allay her anxiety.[11]

Colleen's case illustrates the ways in which teaching behavior is bound up with comprehension and transformation of understanding. The flexible and interactive teaching techniques that she uses are simply not available to her when she does not understand the topic to be taught. Having examined the processes of pedagogical reasoning and performance that are prospective and enactive in nature, we now move to those that are retrospective.

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[11] In no way do I wish to imply that effective lectures are out of place in a high school classroom. On the contrary, good lecturing is an indispensable teaching technique. In this case I am more interested in the relationship between knowledge and teaching. It might be suggested that this teaching style is more suited to grammar than to literature because there is little to discuss or interpret in a grammar lesson. I do not agree, but will not pursue the matter here. In Colleen's case, the rationale for a linear lecture was not grounded in such an argument, but quite clearly in her concern for limiting the range of possible deviations from the path she had designed.

Evaluation. This process includes the on-line checking for understanding and misunderstanding that a teacher must employ while teaching interactively, as well as the more formal testing and evaluation that teachers do to provide feedback and grades. Clearly, checking for such understanding requires all the forms of teacher comprehension and transformation described above. To understand what a pupil understands will require a deep grasp of both the material to be taught and the processes of learning. This understanding must be specific to particular school subjects and to individual topics within the subject. This represents another way in which what we call pedagogical content knowledge is used. Evaluation is also directed at one's own teaching and at the lessons and materials employed in those activities. In that sense it leads directly to reflection.

Reflection. This is what a teacher does when he or she looks back at the teaching and learning that has occurred, and reconstructs, reenacts, and/or recaptures the events, the emotions, and the accomplishments. It is that set of processes through which a professional learns from experience. It can be done alone or in concert, with the help of recording devices or solely through memory. Here again, it is likely that reflection is not merely a disposition (as in, "she's such a reflective person!") or a set of strategies, but also the use of particular kinds of analytic knowledge brought to bear on one's work (Richert, in preparation). Central to this process will be a review of the teaching in comparison to the ends that were sought.

New Comprehension. Thus we arrive at the new beginning, the expectation that through acts of teaching that are "reasoned" and "reasonable" the teacher achieves new comprehension, both of the purposes and of the subjects to be taught, and also of the students and of the processes of pedagogy themselves. There is a good deal of transient experiential learning among teachers, characterized by the "aha" of a moment that is never consolidated and made part of a new understanding or a reconstituted repertoire (Broadkey, 1986). New comprehension does not automatically occur, even after evaluation and reflection. Specific strategies for documentation, analysis, and discussion are needed.

Although the processes in this model are presented in sequence, they are not meant to represent a set of fixed stages, phases, or steps. Many of the processes can occur in different order. Some may not occur at all during some acts of teaching. Some may be truncated, others elaborated. In elementary teaching, for example, some processes may occur that are ignored or given short shrift in this model. But a teacher should demonstrate the capacity to engage in these processes when called upon, and teacher education should provide students with the understandings and performance abilities they will need to reason their ways through and to enact a complete act of pedagogy, as represented here.

Knowledge, Teaching Policy, and Educational Reform

The investigations, deliberations, and debates regarding what teachers should know and know how to do have never been more active. Reform efforts are underway: they range from raising standards for admission into teacher education programs, to establishing state and national examinations for teachers; from insisting that teacher preparation require at least five years of higher education (because there is so much to learn), to organizing elaborate programs of new-teacher induction and mentoring (because the most important learning and socialization can occur only in the workplace).

Most of the current reforms rest on the call for greater professionalization in teaching, with higher standards for entry, greater emphasis on the scholarly bases for practice, more rigorous programs of theoretical and practical preparation, better strategies for certification and licensure, and changes in the workplace that permit greater autonomy and teacher leadership. In large measure, they call for teaching to follow the model of other professions that define their knowledge bases in systematic terms, require extended periods of preparation, socialize neophytes into practice with extended periods of internship or residency, and employ demanding national and state certification procedures.

Implicit in all these reforms are conceptions of teacher competence. Standards for teacher education and assessment are necessarily predicated on images of teaching and its demands. The conception of the knowledge base of teaching presented in this paper differs in significant ways from many of those currently existing in the policy community. The emphasis on the integral relationships between teaching and the scholarly domains of the liberal arts makes clear that teacher education is the responsibility of the entire university, not the schools or departments of education alone. Moreover, teachers cannot be adequately assessed by observing their teaching performance without reference to the content being taught.

The conception of pedagogical reasoning places emphasis upon the intellectual basis for teaching performance rather than on behavior alone. If this conception is to be taken seriously, both the organization and content of teacher education programs and the definition of the scholarly foundations of education will require revision. Teacher education programs would no longer be able to confine their activity to the content-free domains of pedagogy and supervision. An emphasis on pedagogical content knowledge would permeate the teacher preparation curriculum. A national board examination for teachers would focus upon the teacher's ability to reason about teaching and to teach specific topics, and to base his or her actions on premises that can bear the scrutiny of the professional community.

We have an obligation to raise standards in the interests of improvement and reform, but we must avoid the creation of rigid orthodoxies. We must achieve standards without standardization. We must be careful that the knowledge-base approach does not produce an overly technical image of teaching, a scientific enterprise that has lost its soul. The serious problems in medicine and other health professions arise when doctors treat the disease rather than the person, or when the professional or personal needs of the practitioner are permitted to take precedence over the responsibilities to those being served.

Needed change cannot occur without risk, however. The currently incomplete and trivial definitions of teaching held by the policy community comprise a far greater danger to good education than does a more serious attempt to formulate the knowledge base. Nancy represents a model of pedagogical excellence that should become the basis for the new reforms. A proper understanding of the knowledge base of teaching, the sources for that knowledge, and the complexities of the pedagogical process will make the emergence of such teachers more likely.

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Beyond "Effective Teaching": Probing the Subtleties of Subject-Matter Teaching*

by Jere Brophy, Michigan State University

Research on teaching, if interpreted appropriately, is a significant resource to teachers; it both validates good practice and suggests directions for improvement. All too often, however, reviews of the research assume an "out with the old, in with the new" stance, which fosters swings between extremes. Practitioners are left confused and prone to believe that research is not helpful. This summary of the research conducted during the last 25 years attempts not only to highlight the changing implications of research but also to emphasize how the research was built on what was learned before.

Process-Outcome Research

Especially relevant findings come from studies designed to identify relationships between classroom processes (what the teacher and students do in the classroom) and student outcomes (changes in students' knowledge, skills, values, or dispositions that represent progress toward instructional goals). Two forms of *process-outcome research* that became prominent in the 1970s were school effects research and teacher effects research.

School effects research (reviewed in Good and Brophy 1986) identified characteristics in schools that elicit good achievement gains from their students: (1) strong academic leadership that produces consensus on goal priorities and commitment to instructional excellence; (2) a safe, orderly school climate; (3) positive teacher attitudes toward students and expectations regarding their abilities to master the curriculum; (4) an emphasis on instruction in the curriculum (not just on filling time or on nonacademic activities); (5) careful monitoring of progress toward goals through student testing and staff evaluation programs; (6) strong parent involvement programs; and (7) consistent emphasis on the importance of academic achievement, including praise and public recognition for students' accomplishments.

Teacher effects research (reviewed in Brophy and Good 1986) identified teacher behaviors and patterns of teacher-student interaction associated with student achievement gains. This research firmly established three major conclusions:

1. *Teachers make a difference.* Some teachers reliably elicit greater gains than others, because of differences in how they teach.

2. *Differences in achievement gains occur in part because of differences in exposure to academic content and opportunity to learn.* Teachers who elicit greater gains: (a) place more emphasis on developing mastery of the curriculum, in establishing expectations for students, and defining their own roles; (b) allocate most of the available time for activities designed to foster such mastery; and (c) are effective organizers and managers who make their classrooms efficient learning environments, minimize the time spent getting organized or making transitions, and maximize student engagement in ongoing academic activities.

3. *Teachers who elicit greater achievement gains do not merely maximize "time on task"; in addition, they spend a great deal of time actively instructing their students.* Their classrooms feature more time spent in interactive lessons, featuring much teacher-student discourse and less time spent in independent seatwork. Rather than depend solely on curriculum materials as content sources, these teachers interpret and elaborate the content for students, stimulate them to react to it through questions, and circulate during seatwork times to monitor progress and provide assistance. They are active instructors, not just materials managers and evaluators, although most of their instruction occurs during interactive discourse with students rather than during extended lecture-presentations.

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The process-outcome research of the 1970s was important, not only for contributing the findings summarized above but also for providing education with a knowledge base capable of moving the field beyond testimonials and unsupported claims toward scientific statements based on credible data. However, this research was limited in several respects. First, it focused on important but very basic aspects of teaching. These aspects differentiate the least effective teachers from other teachers, but they do not include the most subtle points that distinguish the most outstanding teachers.

Second, most of this research relied on standardized tests as the outcome measure, which meant that it focused on mastery of relatively isolated knowledge items and skill components without assessing the degree to which students had developed understanding of networks of subject-matter content or the ability to use this information in authentic application situations.

Research on Teaching for Understanding and Use of Knowledge

During the 1980s, research emerged that emphasized teaching subject matter for understanding and use of knowledge. This research focuses on particular curriculum units or even individual lessons, taking into account the teacher's instructional goals and assessing student learning accordingly. The researchers find out what the teacher is trying to accomplish, record detailed information about classroom processes as they unfold, and then assess learning using measures keyed to the instructional goals. Often these include detailed interviews or portfolio assessments, not just conventional short-answer tests.

Current research focuses on attempts to teach both the individual elements in a network of related content and the connections among them, to the point that students can explain the information in their own words and can use it appropriately in and out of school. Teachers accomplish this by explaining concepts and principles with clarity and precision and by modeling the strategic application of skills via "think aloud" demonstrations. These demonstrations make overt for students the usually covert strategic thinking that guides the use of the skills for problem solving.

Construction of Meaning

Current research, while building on findings indicating the vital role teachers play in stimulating student learning, also focuses on the role of the student. It recognizes that students do not merely passively receive or copy input from teachers, but instead actively mediate it by trying to make sense of it and to relate it to what they already know (or think they know) about the topic. Thus, students develop new knowledge through a process of *active construction*. In order to get beyond rote memorization to achieve true understanding, they need to develop and integrate a network of associations linking new input to preexisting knowledge and beliefs anchored in concrete experience. Thus, teaching involved inducing *conceptual change* in students, not infusing knowledge into a vacuum. Students' preexisting beliefs about a topic, when accurate, facilitate learning and provide a natural starting place for teaching. Students' misconceptions, however, must be corrected so that they do not distort the new learning.

To the extent that new learning is complex, the construction of meaning required to develop clear understanding of it will take time and will be facilitated by the interactive *discourse* that occurs during lessons and activities. Clear explanations and modeling from the teacher are important, but so are opportunities to answer questions about the content, discuss or debate its meanings and implications, or apply it in authentic problem-solving or decision-making contexts. These activities allow students to process the content actively and "make it their own" by paraphrasing it into their own words, exploring its relationships to other knowledge and to past experience, appreciating the insights it provides, or identifying its implications for personal decision making or action. Increasingly, research is pointing to thoughtful discussion, and not just teacher lecturing or student recitation, as characteristic of the discourse involved in teaching for understanding.

Researchers have also begun to stress the complementary changes in teacher and student roles that should occur as learning progresses. Early in the process, the teacher assumes most of the responsibility for structuring and managing learning activities and provides students with a great deal of information, explanation, modeling, and cueing. As students develop expertise, however, they can begin regulating their own learning by asking questions and by working on increasingly complex applications with increasing degrees of autonomy. The teacher still provides task simplification, coaching, and other "scaffolding" needed to assist students with challenges that they are not yet ready to handle on their own. Gradually, this assistance is reduced in response to gradual increases in student readiness to engage in self-regulated learning.

Principles of Good Subject Matter Teaching

Although research on teaching school subjects for understanding and higher-order applications is still in its infancy, it already has produced successful experimental programs in most subjects. Even more encouraging, analyses of these programs have identified principles and practices that are common to most if not all of them (Anderson 1989, Brophy 1989, Prawat 1989). These common elements are:

1. The curriculum is designed to equip students with knowledge, skills, values, and dispositions useful both inside and outside of school.

2. Instructional goals underscore developing student expertise within an application context and with emphasis on conceptual understanding and self-regulated use of skills.

3. The curriculum balances breadth with depth by addressing limited content but developing this content sufficiently to foster understanding.

4. The content is organized around a limited set of powerful ideas (key understandings and principles).

5. The teacher's role is not just to present information but also to scaffold and respond to students' learning.

6. The students' role is not just to absorb or copy but to actively make sense and construct meaning.

7. Activities and assignments feature authentic tasks that call for problem solving or critical thinking, not just memory or reproduction.

8. Higher-order thinking skills are not taught as a separate skills curriculum. Instead, they are developed in the process of teaching subject-matter knowledge within application contexts that call for students to relate what they are learning to their lives outside of school by thinking critically or creatively about it or by using it to solve problems or make decisions.

9. The teacher creates a social environment in the classroom that could be described as a learning community where dialogue promotes understanding.

In-Depth Study of Fewer Topics

Embedded in this approach to teaching is the notion of "complete" lessons carried through to include higher-order applications of content. The breadth of content addressed, thus, is limited to allow for more in-depth teaching of the content. Unfortunately, typical state and district curriculum guidelines feature long lists of items and subskills to be "covered," and typical curriculum packages supplied by educational publishers respond to these guidelines by emphasizing breadth over depth of coverage. Teachers who want to teach for understanding and higher-order applications of subject-matter will have to both: (1) limit what they teach by focusing on the most important content and omitting or skimming over the rest, and (2) structure what they do teach around important ideas, elaborating it considerably beyond what is in the text.

Besides presenting information and modeling skill applications, such teachers will need to structure a great deal of thoughtful discourse by using questions to stimulate students to process and reflect on the content, recognize relationships among and implications of its key ideas, think critically about it, and use it in problem-solving or decision-making applications. Such discourse downplays rapid-fire questioning and short answers and instead features sustained examination of a small number of related topics. Students are invited to develop explanations, make predictions, debate alternative approaches to problems, or otherwise consider the content's implications or applications. Some of the questions admit to a range of possible correct answers, and some invite discussion or debate (for example, concerning the relative merits of alternative suggestions for solving problems). In addition to asking questions and providing feedback, the teacher encourages students to explain or elaborate on their answers or to comment on classmates' answers. The teacher also capitalizes on "teachable moments" offered by students' comments or questions (by elaborating on the original instruction, correcting misconceptions, or calling attention to implications that have not been appreciated yet).

Holistic Skills Instruction

Teaching for understanding and use of knowledge also involves holistic skills instruction, not the practice of skills in isolation. For example, most practice of writing skills is embedded within activities calling for authentic writing. Also, skills are taught as strategies adapted to particular purposes and situations, with emphasis on modeling the cognitive and metacognitive components involved and explaining the necessary conditional knowledge (of when and why the skills would be used). Thus, students receive instruction in when and how to apply skills, not just opportunities to use them.

Activities, assignments, and evaluation methods incorporate a much greater range of tasks than the familiar workbooks and curriculum-embedded tests that focus on recognition and recall of facts, definitions, and fragmented skills. Curriculum strands or units are planned to accomplish gradual transfer of responsibility for managing learning activities from the teacher to the students, in response to their growing expertise on the topic. Plans for lessons and activities are guided by overall curriculum goals (phrased in terms of student capabilities to be developed), and evaluation efforts concentrate on assessing the progress made.

Reading. Reading is taught as a sense-making process of extracting meaning from texts that are read for information or enjoyment, not just for practice. Important skills such as decoding, blending, and noting main ideas are taught and practiced, but primarily with the context of reading for meaning. Activities and assignments feature more reading of extended texts and less time spent with skills worksheets. Students often work cooperatively in pairs or small groups, reading to one another or discussing their answers to questions about the implications of the text. Rather than being restricted to the artificial stories written for basal readers, students often read literature written to provide information or pleasure (Anderson et al. 1985, Dole et al. 1991).

Writing. Writing is taught as a way for students to organize and communicate their thinking to particular audiences for particular purposes, using skills taught as strategies for accomplishing these goals. Most skills practice is embedded within writing activities that call for composition and communication of meaningful content. Composition activities emphasize authentic writing intended to be read for meaning and response. Thus, composition becomes an exercise in communication and personal craftsmanship. Students develop and revise outlines, develop successive drafts for meaning, and then polish their writing. The emphasis is on the cognitive and metacognitive aspects of composing, not just on mechanics and editing (Englert and Raphael 1989, Rosaen 1990, Scardamalia and Bereiter 1986).

Mathematics. Mathematics instruction focuses on developing students' abilities to explore, conjecture, reason logically, and use a variety of mathematical models to solve nonroutine problems. Instead of working through a postulated linear hierarchy from isolated and low-level skills to integrated and higher-level skills, and only then attempting application, students are taught within an application context right from the beginning through an emphasis on authentic problem solving. They spend less time working individually on computation skills sheets and more time participating in teacher-led discourse concerning the meanings of the mathematical concepts and operations under study (Carpenter et al. 1989; National Council of Teachers of Mathematics 1989, 1991; Steffe and Wood 1990).

Science. In science, students learn to understand, appreciate, and apply connected sets of powerful ideas that they can use to describe, explain, make predictions about, or gain control over real-world systems or events. Instruction connects with students' experience-based knowledge and beliefs, building on accurate current knowledge but also producing conceptual change by confronting and correcting misconceptions. The teacher models and coaches the students' scientific reasoning through scaffolded tasks and dialogues that engage them in thinking about scientific issues. The students are encouraged to make predictions or develop explanations, then subject them to empirical tests or argue the merits of proposed alternatives (Anderson and Roth 1989, Neale et al. 1990).

Social Studies. In social studies, students are challenged to engage in higher-order thinking by interpreting, analyzing, or manipulating information in response to questions or problems that cannot be resolved through routine application of previously learned knowledge. Students focus on networks of connected content structured around powerful ideas rather than on long lists of disconnected facts, and they consider the implications of what they are learning for social and civic decision making. The teacher encourages students to formulate and communicate ideas about the topic, but also presses them to clarify or justify their assertions rather than merely accepting and reinforcing them indiscriminately (Brophy 1990, Newmann 1990).

Greater Effort, Greater Rewards

The type of teaching described here is not yet typical of what happens in most schools. For it to become more common, several things must occur. First, researchers need to articulate these principles more clearly. Second, states and districts must adjust their curriculum guidelines, and publishers must modify their textbooks and teachers' manuals. Finally, professional organizations of teachers and teacher educators must build on the beginnings that they have made in endorsing the goals of teaching subjects for understanding, appreciation, and life application by creating and disseminating position statements, instructional guidelines, videotaped examples, and other resources for preservice and inservice teachers. Clearly, the kind of instruction described here demands more from both teachers and students than traditional reading-recitation-seatwork teaching does. However, it also rewards their efforts with more satisfying and authentic accomplishments.

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Synthesis of Research on Cooperative Learning*

by Robert E. Slavin, Johns Hopkins University

There was once a time when it was taken for granted that a quiet class was a learning class, when principals walked down the hall expecting to be able to hear a pin drop. Today, however, many schools are using programs that foster the hum of voices in classrooms. These programs, called *cooperative learning*, encourage students to discuss, debate, disagree, and ultimately to teach one another.

Cooperative learning has been suggested as the solution for an astonishing array of educational problems: it is often cited as a means of emphasizing thinking skills and increasing higher-order learning; as an alternative to ability grouping, remediation, or special education; as a means of improving race relations and acceptance of mainstreamed students; and as a way to prepare students for an increasingly collaborative work force. How many of these claims are justified? What effects do the various cooperative learning methods have on student achievement and other outcomes? Which forms of cooperative learning are most effective, and what components must be in place for cooperative learning to work?

To answer these questions, I've synthesized in this article the findings of studies of cooperative learning in elementary and secondary schools that have compared cooperative learning to traditionally taught control groups studying the same objectives over a period of at least four weeks (and up to a full school year or more). Here I present a brief summary of the effects of cooperative learning on achievement and noncognitive outcomes; for a more extensive review, see *Cooperative Learning: Theory, Research, and Practice* (Slavin 1990).

Cooperative Learning Methods

There are many quite different forms of cooperative learning, but all of them involve having students work in small groups or teams to help one another learn academic material. Cooperative learning usually supplements the teacher's instruction by giving students an opportunity to discuss information or practice skills originally presented by the teacher; sometimes cooperative methods require students to find or discover information on their own. Cooperative learning has been used—and investigated—in every imaginable subject in grades 2-12, and is increasingly used in college.

Small-scale laboratory research on cooperation dates back to the 1920s (see Deutsch 1949; Slavin 1977a); research on specific applications of cooperative learning to the classroom began in the early 1970s. At that time, four research groups, one in Israel and three in the U.S., began independently to develop and study cooperative learning methods in classroom settings.

Now researchers all over the world are studying practical applications of cooperative learning principles, and many cooperative learning methods have been evaluated in one or more experimental/control comparisons. The best evaluated of the cooperative models are described below (adapted from Slavin 1990). These include four Student Team Learning variations, Jigsaw, Learning Together, and Group Investigation.

Student Team Learning

Student Team Learning (STL) techniques were developed and researched at Johns Hopkins University. More than half of all experimental studies of practical cooperative learning methods involve STL methods.

All cooperative learning methods share the idea that students work together to learn and are responsible for one another's learning as well as their own. STL methods, in addition to this idea, emphasize the use of team goals and team success, which can only be achieved if all members of the team learn the objectives being taught. That is, in Student Team Learning the students' tasks are not to *do* something as a team but to *learn* something as a team.

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Highlights of Research on Cooperative Learning

In cooperative learning, students work in small groups to help one another master academic material. There are many quite different forms of cooperative learning, and the effectiveness of cooperative learning (particularly for achievement outcomes) depends on the particular approach used.

- For enhancing student achievement, the most successful approaches have incorporated two key elements: group goals and individual accountability. That is, groups are rewarded based on the individual learning of all group members.
- When group goals and individual accountability are used, achievement effects of cooperative learning are consistently positive; 37 of 44 experimental/control comparisons of at least four weeks' duration have found significantly positive effects, and none have favored traditional methods.
- Achievement effects of cooperative learning have been found to about the same degree at all grade levels (2-12), in all major subjects, and in urban, rural, and suburban schools. Effects are equally positive for high, average, and low achievers.
- Positive effects of cooperative learning have been consistently found on such diverse outcomes as self-esteem, intergroup relations, acceptance of academically handicapped students, attitudes toward school, and ability to work cooperatively.

—Robert E. Slavin

Three concepts are central to all Student Team Learning methods: *team rewards, individual accountability*, and *equal opportunities for success*. Using STL techniques, teams earn certificates or other team rewards if they achieve above a designated criterion. The teams are not in competition to earn scarce rewards; all (or none) of the teams may achieve the criterion in a given week. *Individual accountability* means that the team's success depends on the individual learning of all team members. This focuses the activity of the team members on explaining concepts to one another and making sure that everyone on the team is ready for a quiz or other assessment that they will take without teammate help. *Equal opportunities for success* means that students contribute to their teams by improving over their own past performances. This ensures that high, average, and low achievers are equally challenged to do their best and that the contributions of all team members will be valued.

The findings of these experimental studies (summarized in this section) indicate that team rewards and individual accountability are essential elements for producing basic skills achievement (Slavin 1983a, 1983b, 1990). It is not enough to simply tell students to work together. They must have a reason to take one another's achievement seriously. Further, if students are rewarded for doing better than they have in the past, they will be more motivated to achieve than if they are rewarded based on their performance in comparison to others, because rewards for improvement make success neither too difficult nor too easy for students to achieve (Slavin 1980).

Four principal Student Team Learning methods have been extensively developed and researched. Two are general cooperative learning methods adaptable to most subjects and grade levels: Student Teams-Achievement Divisions (STAD) and Teams-Games-Tournament (TGT). The remaining two are comprehensive curriculums designed for use in particular subjects at particular grade levels: Team Assisted Individualization (TAI) for mathematics in grades 3-6 and Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) for reading and writing instruction in grades 3-5.

Student Teams-Achievement Divisions (STAD). In STAD (Slavin 1978, 1986), students are assigned to four-member learning teams mixed in performance level, sex, and ethnicity. The teacher presents a lesson, and then students work within their teams to make sure that all team members have mastered the lesson. Finally, all students take individual quizzes on the material, at which time they may *not* help one another.

Students' quiz scores are compared to their own past averages, and points are awarded based on the degree to which students can meet or exceed their own earlier performances. These points are then summed to form team scores, and teams that meet certain criteria earn certificates or other rewards. The whole cycle of activities, from teacher presentation to team practice to quiz, usually takes three to five class periods.

STAD has been used in a wide variety of subjects, from mathematics to language arts and social studies. It has been used from grade 2 through college. STAD is most appropriate for teaching well-defined objectives with single right answers, such as mathematical computations and applications, language usage and mechanics, geography and map skills, and science facts and concepts.

Teams-Games-Tournament (TGT). Teams-Games-Tournament (DeVries and Slavin 1978; Slavin 1986) was the first of the Johns Hopkins cooperative learning methods. It uses the same teacher presentations and teamwork as in STAD, but replaces the quizzes with weekly tournaments. In these, students compete with members of other teams to contribute points to their team scores. Students compete at three-person "tournament tables" against others with similar past records in mathematics. A "bumping" procedure changes table assignments to keep the competition fair. The winner at each tournament table brings the same number of points to his or her team, regardless of which table it is; this means that low achievers (competing with other low achievers) and high achievers (competing with other high achievers) have equal opportunity for success. As in STAD, high-performing teams earn certificates or other forms of team rewards. TGT is appropriate for the same types of objectives at STAD.

Team Assisted Individualization (TAI). Team Assisted Individualization (TAI; Slavin et al. 1986) shared with STAD and TGT the use of four-member mixed ability learning teams and certificates for high-performing teams. But where STAD and TGT use a single pace of instruction for the class, TAI combines cooperative learning with individualized instruction. Also, where STAD and TGT apply to most subjects and grade levels, TAI is specifically designed to teach mathematics to students in grades 3-6 (or older students not ready for a full algebra course).

In TAI, students enter an individualized sequence according to a placement test and then proceed at their own rates. In general, team members work on different units. Teammates check each others' work against answer sheets and help one another with any problems. Final unit tests are taken without teammate help and are scored by student monitors. Each week, teachers total the number of units completed by all team members and give certificates or other team rewards to teams that exceed a criterion score based on the number of final tests passed, with extra points for perfect papers and completed homework.

Because students take responsibility for checking each others' work and managing the flow of materials, the teacher can spend most of the class time presenting lessons to small groups of students drawn from the various teams who are working at the same point in the mathematics sequence. For example, the teacher might call up a decimals group, present a lesson, and then send the students back to their teams to work on problems. Then the teacher might call the fractions group, and so on.

Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC). The newest of the Student Team Learning methods is a comprehensive program for teaching reading and writing in the upper elementary grades called Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (CIRC) (Stevens et al.

1987). In CIRC, teachers use basal or literature-based readers and reading groups, much as in traditional reading programs. However, all students are assigned to teams composed of two pairs from two different reading groups. For example, a team might have two "Bluebirds" and two "Redbirds." While the teacher is working with one reading group, the paired students in the other groups are working on a series of cognitively engaging activities, including reading to one another, making predictions about how narrative stories will come out, summarizing stories to one another, writing responses to stories, and practicing spelling, decoding, and vocabulary. If the reading class is not divided into homogeneous reading groups, all students in the teams work with one another. Students work as a total team to master "main idea" and other comprehension skills. During language arts periods, students engage in writing drafts, revising and editing one another's work, and preparing for "publication" of team books.

In most CIRC activities, students follow a sequence of teacher instruction, team practice, team pre-assessments, and quizzes. That is, students do not take the quiz until their teammates have determined that they are ready. Certificates are given to teams based on the average performance of all team members on all reading and writing activities.

Other Cooperative Learning Methods

Jigsaw. Jigsaw was originally designed by Elliot Aaronson and his colleagues (1978). In Aaronson's Jigsaw method, students are assigned to six-member teams to work on academic material that has been broken down into sections. For example, a biography might be divided into early life, first accomplishments, major setbacks, later life, and impact on history. Each team member reads his or her section. Next, members of different teams who have studied the same sections meet in "expert groups" to discuss their sections. Then the students return to their teams and take turns teaching their teammates about their sections. Since the only way students can learn sections other than their own is to listen carefully to their teammates, they are motivated to support and show interest in one another's work.

Slavin (1986) developed a modification of Jigsaw at Johns Hopkins University and then incorporated it in the Student Team Learning program. In this method, called Jigsaw II, students work in four- or five-member teams as in TGT and STAD. Instead of each student's being assigned a particular section of text, all students read a common narrative, such as a book chapter, a short story, or a biography. However, each student receives a topic (such as "climate" in a unit on France) on which to become an expert. Students with the same topics meet in expert groups to discuss them, after which they return to their teams to teach what they have learned to their teammates. Then students take individual quizzes, which result in team scores based on the improvement score system of STAD. Teams that meet preset standards earn certificates. Jigsaw is primarily used in social studies and other subjects where learning from text is important.

Learning Together. David Johnson and Roger Johnson at the University of Minnesota developed the Learning Together models of cooperative learning (Johnson and Johnson 1987). The methods they have researched involve students working on assignment sheets in four- or five-member heterogeneous groups. The groups hand in a single sheet and receive praise and rewards based on the group product. Their methods emphasize team-building activities before students begin working together and regular discussions within groups about how well they are working together.

Group Investigation. Group Investigation, developed by Shlomo Sharan and Yael Sharan at the University of Tel-Aviv, is a general classroom organization plan in which students work in small groups using cooperative inquiry, group discussion, and cooperative planning and projects (Sharan and Sharan 1976). In this method, students form their own two- to six-member groups. After choosing subtopics from a unit being studied by the entire class, the groups further break their subtopics into individual tasks and carry out the activities necessary to prepare group reports. Each group then makes a presentation or display to communicate its findings to the entire class.

Research on Cooperative Learning

Cooperative learning methods are among the most extensively evaluated alternatives to traditional instruction in use today. Outcome evaluations include:

- academic achievement,
- intergroup relations,
- mainstreaming,
- self-esteem,
- others.

Academic Achievement

More than 70 high-quality studies have evaluated various cooperative learning methods over periods of at least four weeks in regular elementary and secondary schools; 67 of these have measured effects on student achievement (see Slavin 1990). All these studies compared the effects of cooperative learning to those of traditionally taught control groups on measures of the same objectives pursued in all classes. Teachers and classes were either randomly assigned to cooperative or control conditions or matched on pretest achievement level and other factors.

Overall, of 67 studies of the achievement effects of cooperative learning, 41 (61 percent) found significantly greater achievement in cooperative than in control classes. Twenty-five (37 percent) found no differences, and in only one study did the control group outperform the experimental group. However, the effects of cooperative learning vary considerably according to the particular methods used. As noted earlier, two elements must be present if cooperative learning is to be effective: *group goals* and *individual accountability* (Slavin 1983a, 1983b, 1990). That is, groups must be working to achieve some goal or to earn rewards or recognition, and the success of the group must depend on the individual learning of every group member.

In studies of methods such at STAD, TGE, TAI, and CIRC, effects on achievement have been consistently positive; 37 out of 44 such studies (84 percent) found significant positive achievement effects. In contrast, only 4 of 23 studies (17 percent) lacking group goals and individual accountability found positive effects on student achievement. Two of these positive effects were found in studies of Group Investigation in Israel (Sharan et al. 1984; Sharan and Shachar 1988). In Group Investigation, students in each group are responsible for one unique part of the group's overall task, ensuring individual accountability. Then the group's overall performance is evaluated. Even though there are no specific group rewards, the group evaluation probably serves the same purpose.

Why are group goals and individual accountability so important? To understand this, consider the alternatives. In some forms of cooperative learning, students work together to complete a single worksheet or to solve one problem together. In such methods, there is little reason for more able students to take time to explain what is going on to their less able groupmates or to ask their opinions. When the group task is to *do* something, rather than to *learn* something, the participation of less able students may be seen as interference rather than help. It may be easier in this circumstance for students to give each other answers than to explain concepts or skills to one another.

In contrast, when the group's task is to ensure that every group member *learns* something, it is in the interests of every group member to spend time explaining concepts to his or her groupmates. Studies of students' behaviors within cooperative groups have consistently found that the students who gain most from cooperative work are those who give and receive elaborated explanations (Webb 1985). In contrast, Webb found that giving and receiving answers without explanations were *negatively* related to achievement gain. What group goals and individual accountability do is to motivate students to give explanations and to take one another's learning seriously, instead of simply giving answers.

Cooperative learning methods generally work equally well for all types of students. While occasional studies find particular advantages for high or low achievers, boys or girls, and so on, the great majority find equal benefits for all types of students. Sometimes teachers or parents worry that cooperative learning will hold back high achievers. The research provides absolutely no support for this claim; high achievers gain from cooperative learning (relative to high achievers in traditional classes) just as much as do low and average achievers (see Slavin, this issue, p. 63).

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Research on the achievement effects of cooperative learning has more often taken place in grades 3-9 than 10-12. Studies at the senor high school level are about as positive as those at earlier grades, but there is a need for more research at that level. Cooperative learning methods have been equally successful in urban, rural, and suburban schools and with students of different ethnic groups (although a few studies have found particularly positive effects for black students; see Slavin and Oickle 1981).

Among the cooperative learning methods, the Student Team Learning programs have been most extensively researched and most often found instructionally effective. Of 14 studies of STAD and closely related methods, 11 found significantly higher achievement for this method than for traditional instruction, and two found no differences. For example, Slavin and Karweit (1984) evaluated STAD over an entire school year in inner-city Philadelphia 9th grade mathematics classes. Student performance on a standardized mathematics test increased significantly more than in either a mastery learning group or a control group using the same materials. Substantial differences favoring STAD have been found in such diverse subjects as social studies (e.g., Allen and Van Sickle 1984), language arts (Slavin and Karweit 1981), reading comprehension (Stevens, Slavin, Farnish, and Madden 1988), mathematics (Sherman and Thomas 1986), and science (Okebukola 1985). None of 11 studies of TGT found similar results (DeVries and Slavin 1978).

The largest effects of Student Team Learning methods have been found in studies of TAI. Five of six studies found substantially greater learning of mathematics computations in TAI than in control classes, while one study found no differences (see Slavin 1985b). Experimental control differences were still substantial (though smaller) a year after the students were in TAI (Slavin and Karweit 1985). In mathematics concepts and applications, one of three studies (Slavin et al. 1984) found significantly greater gains in TAI than control methods, while two found no significant differences (Slavin and Karweit 1985).

In comparison with traditional control groups, three experimental studies of CIRC have found substantial positive effects on scores from standardized tests of reading comprehension, reading vocabulary, language expression, language mechanics, and spelling (Madden et al. 1986, Stevens et al. 1987, Stevens et al. 1990). Significantly greater achievement on writing samples was also found favoring the CIRC students in the two studies which assessed writing.

Other than STL methods, the most consistently successful model for increasing student achievement is Group Investigation (Sharan and Sharan 1976). One study of this method (Sharan et al. 1984) found that it increased the learning of English as a foreign language, while Sharan and Shachar (1988) found positive effects of Group Investigation on the learning of history and geography. A third study of only three weeks' duration (Sharan et al. 1980) also found positive effects on social studies achievement, particularly on higher-level concepts. The Learning Together methods (Johnson and Johnson 1987) have been found instructionally effective when they include the assignment of group grades based on the average of group members' individual quiz scores (e.g., Humphreys et al. 1982, Yager et al. 1985). Studies of the original Jigsaw method have not generally supported this approach (e.g., Moskowitz et al. 1983); but studies of Jigsaw II, which uses group goals and individual accountability, have shown positive effects (Mattingly and VanSickle 1990, Ziegler 1981).

Intergroup Relations

In the laboratory research on cooperation, one of the earliest and strongest findings was that people who cooperate learn to like one another (Slavin 1977b). Not surprisingly, the cooperative learning classroom studies have found quite consistently that students express greater liking for their classmates in general as a result of participating in a cooperative learning method (see Slavin 1983a, 1990). This is important in itself and even more important when the students have different ethnic backgrounds. After all, there is substantial evidence that, left alone, ethnic separateness in schools does not naturally diminish over time (Gerard and Miller 1975).

Social scientists have long advocated interethnic cooperation as a means of ensuring positive intergroup relations in desegregated settings. Contact

Theory (Allport 1954), which is in the U.S. the dominant theory of intergroup relations, predicted that positive intergroup relations would arise from school desegregation if and only if students participated in cooperative, equal-status interaction sanctioned by the school. Research on cooperative learning methods has borne out the predictions of Contact Theory. These techniques emphasize cooperative, equal-status interaction between students of different ethnic backgrounds sanctioned by the school (Slavin 1985a).

In most of the research on intergroup relations, students were asked to list their best friends at the beginning of the study and again at the end. The number of friendship choices students made outside their own ethnic groups was the measure of intergroup relations.

Positive effects on intergroup relations have been found for STAD, TGT, TAI, Jigsaw, Learning Together, and Group Investigation models (Slavin 1985b). Two of these studies, one on STAD (Slavin 1979) and one on Jigsaw II (Ziegler 1981), included follow-ups of intergroup friendships several months after the end of the studies. Both found that students who had been in cooperative learning classes still named significantly more friends outside their own ethnic groups than did students who had been in control classes. Two studies of Group Investigation (Sharan et al. 1984, Sharan and Shachar 1988) found that students' improved attitudes and behaviors toward classmates of different ethnic backgrounds extended to classmates who had never been in the same groups, and a study of TAI (Oishi 1983) found positive effects of this method on cross-ethnic interactions outside as well as in class. The U.S. studies of cooperative learning and intergroup relations involved back, white, and (in a few cases) Mexican-American students. A study of Jigsaw II by Ziegler (1981) took place in Toronto, where the major ethnic groups were Anglo-Canadians and children of recent European immigrants. The Sharan (Sharan et al. 1984, Sharan and Shachar 1988) studies of Group Investigation took place in Israel and involved friendships between Jews of both European and Middle Eastern backgrounds.

Mainstreaming

Although ethnicity is a major barrier to friendship, it is not so large as the one between physically or mentally handicapped children and their normal-progress peers. Mainstreaming, an unprecedented opportunity for handicapped children to take their place in the school and society, has created enormous practical problems for classroom teachers, and it often leads to social rejection of the handicapped children. Because cooperative learning methods have been successful in improving relationships across the ethnicity barrier—which somewhat resembles the barrier between mainstreamed and normal-progress students—these methods have also been applied to increase the acceptance of the mainstreamed student.

The research on cooperative learning and mainstreaming has focused on the academically handicapped child. In one study, STAD was used to attempt to integrate students performing two years or more below the level of their peers into the social structure of the classroom. The use of STAD significantly reduced the degree to which the normal-progress students rejected their mainstreamed classmates and increased the academic achievement and self-esteem of all students, mainstreamed as well as normal-progress (Madden and Slavin 1983). Similar effects have been found for TAI (Slavin et al. 1984), and other research using cooperative teams has also shown significant improvements in relationships between mainstreamed academically handicapped students and their normal-progress peers (Ballard et a. 1977, Cooper et al. 1980).

In addition, one study in a self-contained school for emotionally disturbed adolescents found that the use of TGT increased positive interactions and friendships among students (Slavin 1977a). Five months after the study ended, these positive interactions were still found more often in the former TGT classes than in the control classes. In a study in a similar setting, Janke (1978) found that the emotionally disturbed students were more on-task, were better behaved, and had better attendance in TGT classes than in control classes.

Self-Esteem

One of the most important aspects of a child's personality is his or her self-esteem. Several researchers working on cooperative learning techniques have found that these methods do increase students' self-esteem. These improvements in self-esteem have been found for TGT and STAD (Slavin 1990), for Jigsaw (Blaney et al. 1977), and for the three methods combined (Slavin and Karweit 1981). Improvements in student self-concepts have also been found for TAI (Slavin et al. 1984).

Other Outcomes

In addition to effects on achievement, positive intergroup relations, greater acceptance of mainstreamed students, and self-esteem, effects of cooperative learning have been found on a variety of other important educational outcomes. These include liking school, development of peer norms in favor of doing well academically, feelings of individual control over the student's own fate in school, and cooperativeness and altruism (see Slavin 1983a, 1990). TGT (DeVries and Slavin 1978) and STAD (Slavin 1978, Janke 1978) have been found to have positive effects on students' time-on-task. One study found that lower socioeconomic status students at risk of becoming delinquent who worked in cooperative groups in 6th grade had better attendance, fewer contacts with the police, and higher behavioral ratings by teachers in grades 7-11 than did control students (Hartley 1976). Another study implemented forms of cooperative learning beginning in kindergarten and continuing through the 4th grade (Solomon et al. 1990). This study found that the students who had been taught cooperatively were significantly higher than control students on measures of supportive, friendly, and prosocial behavior; were better at resolving conflicts; and expressed more support for democratic values.

Useful Strategies

Returning to the questions at the beginning of this article, we now see the usefulness of cooperative learning strategies for improving such diverse outcomes as student achievement at a variety of grade levels and in many subjects, intergroup relations, relationships between mainstreamed and normal-progress students, and student self-esteem. Further, their widespread and growing use demonstrates that cooperative learning methods are practical and attractive to teachers. The history of the development, evaluation, and dissemination of cooperative learning is an outstanding example of the use of educational research to create programs that have improved the educational experience of thousands of students and will continue to affect thousands more.

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Interaction and Discourse in Social Studies Classrooms*

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Discourse is language that is generated naturally as people interact (Stubbs, 1983). This chapter is limited to a review of research on spoken discourse because classroom talk is considered "the medium by which much teaching takes place and during which students demonstrate to teachers much of what they have learned" (Cazden, 1986, p. 432).

Educational researchers originally assumed that classroom language was a "transparent" medium that could be ignored as one studied classroom instruction (Cazden, 1988; Edwards and Westgate, 1987). However, over the last two decades researchers have found that the forms of the language used in the classroom both reflect and shape the types of academic knowledge produced there (Stodolsky, 1988).

The two major forms of discourse in social studies classrooms are recitation and discussion. [The sections on recitation are not reproduced here.] Discussion is analyzed in terms of how its definition, purpose, structure, and occurrence differ from recitation. Nonquestioning techniques, student questioning, and forms of teacher feedback are emphasized. Different forms of discussion that have been popular during the last 30 years—including inquiry, critical thinking about social issues, exploratory talk, and, most recently, responsive teaching—are reviewed. Conclusions and recommendations are drawn from the contrasts between these two forms of interaction.

Research studies from both the quantitative and interpretive traditions are reviewed in this chapter. Although different underlying assumptions resulted in different questions, types of data, and validation procedures, research findings from both traditions are beginning to show a surprising amount of overlap and consensus. Although the actual "doing" of research may remain distinct, those who conduct research in either tradition can no longer afford to ignore the knowledge being produced by the other.

Discussion

As Cazden (1988) noted "IRE [teacher initiation-student response-teacher evaluation] is the 'default' pattern—what happens unless deliberate action is taken to achieve some alternative" (p. 53). However, unvarying use of the recitation pattern of IRE results in the classroom becoming a place where students display knowledge but do not acquire it (Stevens, 1912). Tharp and Gallimore (1988) contend that, "In American classrooms, now and since the 19th century, teachers generally act as if students are supposed to learn on their own" (p. 3). But can the IRE pattern of classroom interaction be modified so that students are freed from the necessity of producing answers anticipated by the teacher? Are there forms of classroom interaction that will enable students to acquire new academic knowledge and connect it in meaningful ways to bodies of formal and informal knowledge that they already possess? Tharp and Gallimore (1988) argued that if teachers are to help students gain access to "accumulated knowledge and important facts of our civilization and the world's cultures," they need to change their relationships with their students and engage in conversations in which they assume that the students have more to say than the answers already known by the adult (p. 18).

Definitions and Purpose of Discussion

Discussion is a term often used indiscriminately. For example, in his review of research Dillon (1984) found that many researchers labeled any teacher-student interaction, including recitation, as discussion. In this chapter, discussion is used to refer to a spe-

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cific form of discourse that does not include recitation.

Gage (1969) defined discussion as a teacher's engagement of "two or more learners in a cooperative examination and comparison of views in order to illuminate an issue and contribute to the learner's understanding" (p. 1454). Stodolsky et al. (1981) distinguished discussion from recitation in a similar manner: "Discussion segments usually involve longer exchanges between teacher and students and among students than do recitations. Furthermore, the teacher is often trying to build to some idea and may solicit opinions and thoughts, not just 'right' answers from children" (p. 123). Wilen (1990) further distinguished discussion from recitation by defining it as an educative and structured group conversation between teacher and students about subject matter at the higher cognitive levels. A key word is *conversation*, which suggests that the interaction pattern is informal, involving the exchange of thoughts and feelings.

Bridges's (1979) philosophical rationale for the use of discussion is that it is compatible with democratic values and processes including rationality; decision making; commitment to fairness; and respect for other's opinions, feelings, and interests. The primary attributes of a discussion are that understanding and judgment of the issue under consideration are developed, more than one point of view is offered, and participants are open to differing points of view (Bridges, 1987).

Bridges (1987) suggested that teachers might engage students in a subject-matter discussion for several purposes: to have them learn information from others in the group, to introduce them to differing points of view, and to stimulate and expand ideas and refine opinions through criticism. Gall and Gall (1976) and Gall (1985), in their reviews of research, found that discussion was generally effective in promoting higher-level thinking, changing students' attitudes, advancing students' capability for moral reasoning, and engaging students in group problem solving—important citizenship-education goals.

The Occurrence and Structure of Discussion

Discussions physically look and sound different from recitations. During discussions, the pace slows. Both teacher and student utterances become longer. The intonation and pitch drop to a quieter, more intimate tone and there are more pauses (Cazden, 1988; Farrar, 1988). There are shifts in the turn taking from T-S-T, to, for example, T-S-S-T-S-S-S-T.

In the real world of the social studies classroom, many lessons are not pure forms of recitation or discussion. As Cazden (1988) notes, "Purposes can...change..., not just from hour to hour but from minute to minute. And interactions that have some features of discussions may erupt briefly within other events" (p. 62). Cazden (1988) has described "temporary eruptions of discussions with younger children" that are "a fine line between order and chaos" and "that are—to both teacher and observers—the intellectual high point of the lesson" (p. 62).

White (1985) observed a sixth-grade teacher in a White, blue-collar school in which a discussion briefly erupted in the midst of a recitation. In a lesson on ancient Greece, there was minimal pupil engagement as the teacher asked a series of questions straight from the textbook, such as, "What was the Delian League?" However, when the teacher asked a hypothetical question about how the students would make meaning out of the situation—for example, "How would you feel if you were living in a city state and you had to ask Athens for permission...to trade with someone else?" (p. 61)—the interaction immediately switched into a discussion format. Students sat up straight, made long declarative statements, asked a series of questions, and began speaking directly to one another without the teacher intervening at each turn. The discussion format ended just as rapidly as it began when the teacher answered a student question by saying that the answer was in the textbook and then assigning a page to read.

In the third grade at the same school, White (1989a) also found a discussion that was initiated with a "what-if" question at the conclusion of a social studies recitation. After watching a filmstrip about Pittsburgh's role in the industrial revolution, Mrs.. Kay asked, 'What if they came and put a steel-making factory here? What would happen to Glentown?" The students responded with a series of causal "if, then" statements: "If a steel mill was built, then Glentown would get bigger" and there would be, "More houses." "More stores." "More cars." "More factories." "More food." "More hospitals and more doctors." Mrs. Kay structured the conversation so that students could use their personal knowledge of their community to elaborate on and give meaning to the academic concept of industrialization.

It should be noted, however, that all classroom interactions that are not recitations are not automatically discussions. For example, Farrar (1988) described a secondary high school lesson on smoking and senior privileges that met some but not all of the criteria for discussion. The teacher began the lesson with an open-ended question, "Does anybody have any strong feelings about...?" There were more student-initiated exchanges than teacher-initiated exchanges, and the students raised questions, responded to one another, and expressed feelings, opinions, and observations. Nevertheless, Roby (1988) classified this lesson as a "bull session." He claimed that it was not a discussion, because the students and teacher merely argued about the "rightness" of each of their ideas rather than thoughtfully "entertain(ing) the validity of more than one idea" (p. 171).

Instructional Techniques for Discussion

Teachers have traditionally relied on different types of questions and a variety of questioning techniques to encourage discussion. The role of questions in stimulating student participation, thinking, and learning has rarely been challenged.

Nonquestioning as an Instructional Technique for Discussion. Only within the past decade have nonquestioning alternatives been seriously considered and debated in the literature. The use of questions as a means for teachers to encourage discussion may not be as essential as their use in recitation. Dillon (1981a) studied 26 parochial junior and high school social studies and religion discussions. An in-depth analysis of five of these discussions, primarily centered around history, sociology, and psychology content, indicated that nonquestioning alternatives, including statements and wait time, resulted in more student participation and talk, more student-student interaction, and more student questions. In 1983, Dillon argued again that using questions is detrimental to achieving the goals of discussion and that the use of a variety of statement forms, pausing, and student questions are more conducive to stimulating student participation and thinking.

The Role of Student Questions. Little research has been conducted on the use of student questions within discussion. In her review of research, Cornbleth (1975) concluded that students can learn to ask particular types of questions and that there is a positive relationship between student question-asking and achievement. Based on his research, Dillon (1988) advocated that teachers use student-generated questions as a basis for recitations and a component of discussions. The role of student questions as a means to encourage involvement and thinking has been comprehensively developed by Hunkins (1976, 1985).

The Development of Higher-Level Thinking and Knowledge

During the "New Social Studies" movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s, researchers focused on the development of higher-level thinking and knowledge in different types of classroom discussions. They described how teachers and students used processes from the social sciences such as inquiry and critical thinking to construct key concepts and generalizations from the social science disciplines.

Recently, researchers from cognitive psychology as well as ethnography and linguistics have been asking questions remarkably similar to those raised almost three decades ago. Newcomers to the field of social studies education should first become acquainted with some of the earlier studies (e.g., Barnes, 1976; Massialas and Zevin, 1967; Newmann and Oliver, 1970) that contain rich descriptions and insightful analyses of classroom discourse still relevant today. More than 20 years ago, Taba (1966) developed models sequencing questions so as to "lift" students to develop concepts and generalizations. Also, Kohlberg (1973, 1976) developed a model for discussions to shift students' reasoning from lower to higher moral stages. The current focus on critical thinking, problem solving, and responsive teaching, in which students are enabled to "lift" their levels of thinking should be seen as continuations of this earlier tradition.

Many forms of discussion have been proposed and described in the research literature, ranging from inquiry to critical thinking about social issues, exploratory talk, and responsive teaching. These forms are not mutually exclusive.

Inquiry. The purpose of inquiry teaching is to engage students in the analysis of societal issues and problems in a logical and systematic fashion. A problem is identified and clarified, solutions or explanations in the form of hypotheses are offered, and information is gathered and analyzed to test the hypotheses. In the final phase, conclusions are drawn that result in acceptance, rejection, or modification of each of the hypotheses (Hunt and Metcalf, 1968; Massialas and Cox, 1966).

Massialas and Zevin (1967) described an inquiry lesson in which a class of high school sophomores themselves developed and then tested generalizations about the conditions under which violent secret societies were likely to form. Once the teacher had selected and presented the primary texts for the students to study, the role of the teacher shifted to being that of a collaborator, a "fellow inquirer who has no final and absolute answers to give out" (Massialas and Zevin, 1967, p. 250).

Inquiry has generally been found to be as effective as other approaches, such as lecture, to teaching content (Ponder and Davis, 1982). Martorella (1977) in his review of research did not find inquiry to be superior over other methods in influencing students' achievement, and Ponder and Davis (1982) concluded that the findings on inquiry and the learning of higher cognitive skills are inconsistent.

Critical Thinking About Social Issues. One important goal of citizenship education is critical thinking (National Council for the Social Studies, 1979). A critical thinker is a rational thinker, one who can demonstrate reasoning by supporting and justifying arguments and conclusions (Common, 1985). Classroom discourse can stimulate critical thinking, as the teacher and students move beyond background information to the careful examination of beliefs through teacher and student questions (Cherryholmes, 1985). The questions teachers ask within an atmosphere of critical classroom discourse serve the additional role of establishing expectations for student thinking and learning (Nystrand, 1987).

Teachers using the jurisprudential strategy (Newmann and Oliver, 1970; Oliver and Shaver, 1966/1974) would have as their purpose encouraging students to think systematically about controversial societal issues. Teachers might use both recitation and Socratic methods to encourage students to examine the legal, ethical, and factual substance of issues and examine their own personal knowledge and values in relation to the issues. The "recitation-analytic" style was used in the Harvard Project to review students' substantive understanding of information related to a public issue, and to clarify and examine value dimensions of the issue. With the "Socratic-analytic" style, students were encouraged to take a position on an issue. The teacher then used probing questions to force the students to examine the clarity, relevancy, and consistency of their positions. The Socratic-analytic style is clearly adversarial in nature.

Oliver and Shaver (1966/1974) conducted a two-year study of students as they progressed through a seventh- and eighth-grade U.S. history program. The experimental jurisprudential program was found to be more effective than the conventional history curriculum in promoting thinking and discussion skills and just as effective in terms of learning knowledge of American history.

Exploratory Talk. In Great Britain, Barnes, Britten, and Rosen (1969) argued that pupils needed more opportunities than were observable in most classrooms to "find their own solutions to the problems posed, to follow a sustained argument and discuss it afterwards and to ask questions as well as answer them" (Edwards and Westgate, 1987, p. 10). Barnes (1976) developed the notion of "exploratory talk" as a way to describe the type of discussion in which students first begin to explore an idea and make the first tentative connections between concepts that are learned in school and their private experiential knowledge. Barnes contrasted "exploratory talk" with a more polished "final draft" talk in which students confirm and review their ideas. Central to this distinction is Barnes's differentiation between open and closed approaches to tasks. Open tasks are characterized by use of the hypothetical mode:

> The pupils ask ruminative questions of themselves, and their statements are tentative, exploratory, inviting elaboration by others. They freely find new questions to ask of one another, and see further possibilities in the materials beyond what the task explicitly requires. They persevere in trying to organize their ideas..., making frequent use of one another's contributions by extending or modifying them..., [and] deal with disagreement in open discussion. (p. 67)

Barnes argued that in exploratory talk the students begin with background information that they already have acquired from personal experiences and earlier social studies lessons. They "talk their way into insights" by connecting and relating their old knowledge with new information presented in the text and in class.

Responsive Teaching. Responsive teaching is aimed at supporting student thinking and stretching or "scaffolding" students so that they can develop higher levels of thinking. The purpose is to assist students to reach the upper limits of their "zone of proximal development" (Vygotsky, 1978). In a zone of proximal development, the student has "only partially mastered a skill but can successfully employ it and internalize it with the assistance and supervision of an adult" (Tharp and Gallimore, 1988, p. 7). It is assumed that individuals develop higher-order mental functions only after these functions have first appeared in social interactions, so students must experience a cognitive activity before they acquire it. In later phases of learning, students take over their own performance, develop an automatic performance, and de-automatize performance (Tharp and Gallimore, pp. 33-40).

Proponents of responsive teaching argue that discussions should be "contextualized in the child's experience, previous knowledge, and schemata" (Tharp and Gallimore, 1989, p. 356). For example, in the KEEP Project in Hawaii, the teachers began by asking the students to speak about their relevant personal experiences prior to the introduction of new text material. The level of cognitive functioning was then lifted when the teacher asked questions that enabled students to explore relationships between their experiences and the text (Au, 1980). Tharp and Gallimore (1989) point out that the paradox of starting with contextualization to achieve decontextualization: "The literacy goals of school—verbal, analytic, and abstract knowledge and cognition are better achieved in everyday culturally meaningful contexts" (p. 356).

To assist students in reaching higher levels of comprehension, the teacher often structures and models the desired task. Rather than simplifying the task if students cannot do it, the teacher sometimes performs the students' role until they can accomplish it unassisted.

In responsive teaching, teachers can use feedback to identify and describe what their students have done (Mehan, 1982, pp. 77-78; White, 1986). Heath (1987) calls this "talk about the talk" or meta-language. In a 10-year study of how children used language in three Appalachian communities (rural African-American, rural White, and townspeople), Heath (1983, 1987) described how elementary teachers helped low-achieving rural African-American and White children raise their test scores dramatically by immersing them in many different types of talk and by helping the children learn how to identify the different types of talk. For an entire year, classes of children became language "detectives" or ethnographers who analyzed the questions and language they heard at home, at school, and used by different workers in their community.

Palincsar, Brown, and Campione (1989) described how first-grade teachers successfully used meta-language to assist a group of "at-risk" first-graders improve their comprehension skills. As they read stories and discussed how, for example, animals protected themselves from their enemies, four strategies—questioning, summarizing, clarifying, and predicting—were modeled and labeled by the teachers. The first-graders then began to use the meta-language as entrees for their own contributions in the class conversation, for example, "this is my question..." (p. 10).

The Continuing Search for Higher-Order Thinking. Despite the potential benefits, the research literature clearly demonstrates that discussion is used infrequently and with uneven results by teachers. Gall (1985) concluded that discussion is used infrequently because teachers lack training in discussion leadership skills, they fear relinquishing their control to students, the acquisition of facts is emphasized, and classes are too large to allow meaningful discussions.

In a recent study at the secondary level, Newmann (1988) conducted a national search for social studies departments in which the teachers promoted discourse characterized by higher-order thinking. Higher-order thinking was defined as interpreting, analyzing, or manipulating information. Five departments were selected from 60 nominated. Forty-five teachers in those schools were observed during 160 lessons using a 17-point scale of aspects of thoughtful discourse. The teachers and 45 of their students also completed at least two questionnaires and were interviewed extensively. Teachers in the classes identified as less thoughtful relied more on lecture, recitation, and the textbook. However, the dominant practice in classes identified as more thoughtful was teacher-directed discussion, during which the teacher pushed students to explain their ideas and encouraged a high degree of student interaction.

Summary

Discussion is structured conversation in which the participants work cooperatively to present, examine, compare, and understand often diverse views about an academic topic or issue. Discussion more closely approximates natural conversation than recitation because it is slower paced and not driven by the questions or evaluations of one person. Discussion can be used to accomplish purposes that might not be easily achieved with recitation, including introducing students to differing points of view, encouraging the exploration of student ideas, critical thinking and engaging students in group problem-solving. Different forms of discussion have been developed over time. In inquiry and exploratory talk, the power inequity between the teacher and students is lessened, the discussions are driven by questions initiated by the students, and the answers to the questions are not known in advance. The teacher's relationship with the students shifts toward being a collaborator rather than an evaluator. In critical thinking about social issues and responsive teaching, students are encouraged to find their own solutions to the problems posed and to develop sustained arguments. In responsive teaching, the use of metalanguage or talk about the talk becomes an important tool in allowing students to become aware of how the forms of language they produce affects their own learning.

Conclusions

The recitation pattern of teacher initiation-student response-teacher evaluation is the primary form of discourse used in social studies classrooms. Teachers persist in using questions to recall factual information for purposes of review, to introduce new information, and to evaluate student knowledge. Teachers' use of these low-level questions with probing, wait time, and redirection is positively related to gains in student achievement. Although recitation enables teachers to control the quantity and quality of student participation, it often results in limiting students' use of language to making meaning out of the academic material. Alternative forms of discussion are characterized by students participating at higher cognitive levels to construct more complex forms of social studies knowledge. However, teachers use forms of discussion infrequently in social studies classrooms.

Implications and Recommendations

1. Both quantitative and interpretative researchers need to study why, given the oft-proclaimed advantages of discussion and disadvantages of recitation, teachers persist in conducting recitations to the exclusion of discussion in their social studies classes. Long-term case studies are needed to describe the sequencing and mix of recitation and discussion type interactions. For example, do episodes of discussions erupt at the end of lessons or units? How do the patterns of use vary in different situations, and why are recitations more prevalent in lower-SES situations? Studies similar to Newmann's (1988) are needed to analyze why as well as how specific types of social studies classroom interactions may promote thought more than others. Descriptions are needed of teachers as they change from

reliance on recitation to the use of more diverse forms of discussion. Social studies theorists need to develop a better understanding of the contexts and constraints that shape teachers' preferences for different types of classroom discourse.

2. There is a need to study how the use of teacher power, authority, and control affects the level of student thinking, student initiative, and the types of knowledge that are produced. How can leadership and responsibility for classroom discourse be shared in a way that is productive and comfortable for both teacher and students?

3. How different classroom participants make meaning out of classroom discourse should be studied. Quantitative research (Dillon, 1982; Mills et al., 1980) has shown that there is approximately 50% congruence between the teacher's intended cognitive level for a question and the cognitive level at which a student responds. Interpretative researchers (Barnes, 1976) have also described how higher-level questions asked by teachers are redefined at lower levels by students. In the future, researchers should use complete exchange between teaches and students as the basic unit of analysis rather than only coding teacher questions.

4. There is a need to study how teachers and students can be trained in instructional techniques that encourage interaction patterns appropriate for discussions. Although research has shown that teachers can develop and apply questioning skills associated with recitation and discussion (Wilen, 1984, 1987b), more studies need to be conducted on, for example, how teachers might learn to use the alternative, nonquestioning techniques advocated by Dillon (1983).

5. The forms and levels of thinking cannot be studied in isolation from the academic content in which they are embedded. As Shulman (1986) argued, one of the most serious faults of current research "has been the tendency to ignore the *substance* of classroom life, the specific curriculum content and subject matter being studied" (p. 22). The greatest paucity of research is in the area of how new information is introduced and developed in classroom discourse. How do teachers connect academic topics with formal and informal student knowledge, lift cognitive levels within the discussion of a topic, and develop decontextualized disciplinary concepts through a series of tasks within a lesson, across a unit, and across a semester or school year? In-depth and long-term studies are needed of how diverse classroom groups use language to construct different types of social studies knowledge. Researchers have just begun to understand the complexity of social studies classroom discourse.

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Research on Issues-Centered Social Studies*

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For many years social studies educators have advocated the use of issues-centered instruction on philosophic grounds, similar to those put forth in the first chapters of this handbook. But skeptics and believers alike have wondered whether empirical evidence exists to warrant its use. This chapter addresses the question: Is there evidence that issues-centered social studies yields benefits? The answer must first be qualified in that studies conducted in particular contexts in the past cannot prove or predict what will happen in a future setting, and available research tends to be correlational, not causal. That is, researchers studying particular classrooms found that issues-centered instruction was associated with various phenomena; they did not establish cause-and-effect relationships as one might in a laboratory. Examining the available research can, however, be insightful to those considering the implementation of issues-centered teaching because there is reason to believe that when this approach is used under certain conditions, students may like social studies, and may develop higher-order thinking skills, participatory political attitudes, and an awareness and concern about global or other important societal issues. But before examining the research base for such possibilities, a few cautions are in order.

First, despite numerous calls for issues-centered social studies instruction over the years, the few schools that offered such programs have not reported their effectiveness. Consequently, no evidence exists from long-term participation. Nevertheless, researchers pursuing diverse lines of inquiry have identified a number of positive outcomes—and some obstacles—when students experience issues-centered social studies instruction for short periods in their schooling. All of the studies reported here are focused on samples of middle and high school students. That is not to say that issues-centered teaching cannot occur at the elementary school level; indeed, many elementary teachers design interdisciplinary units around issues (Angell and Avery 1992). At this time, however, there is not a cumulative research base for that age level.

Additional cautions relate to the definition and nature of issues-centered instruction. The editors of this handbook define issues-centered instruction as a teaching approach that uses social issues to emphasize reflective and often controversial questions in contemporary and historic contexts as the heart of social studies. The approach encourages students to become more thoughtful about the way they view social life, rather than seeking right answers to unproblematic questions, while it engages them in the challenges and dilemmas citizens confront. In earlier decades, issues-centered instruction had slightly different emphases and went by different names. For example, in the 1940s and 1950s social studies authors (Quillen and Hanna 1948) wrote of a "problems approach" that applied John Dewey's ideas to the tasks of preparing young citizens. This approach was most commonly used in U.S. history and "Problems of American Democracy" courses. Students were encouraged to select problems for investigation that interested them and concerned society. In the 1950s and 1960s Hunt and Metcalf (1955, 1968) extended the tradition with "reflective inquiry" into the "closed areas" of society. They proposed a systematic model for analyzing problems that integrated value, semantic, and empirical analyses. Their work was followed by two differing streams—one that emphasized "inquiry" into intellectual issues with a disciplinary focus and one that recommended a "jurisprudential" approach to analyzing enduring dilemmas in which core social values were in conflict. (Massialas 1963, Oliver and Shaver 1966)

Previous chapters in this handbook have more thoroughly explicated the distinctions within an issues-centered tradition. This chapter notes that researchers working from differing perspectives, using differing methodologies and emphases, fo-

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cused on different features within the approach with the result that from one decade to the next, researchers shed light on a classroom scene from different angles. Some researchers included verbatim notes of selected classroom dialogues; others described a particular set of issues-centered materials. Yet, others assumed that a particular approach was used, and/or asked students if they felt comfortable expressing their opinions on issues. In truth, the research base for issues-centered instruction relies on studies of an amorphous dynamic "independent variable" because no two days of issues-centered instruction were/are the same. What the teachers and many of the researchers shared was a belief that students ought to be actively engaged in discovering knowledge useful to them in reflecting upon issues that face citizens across time and social contexts.

Throughout this chapter are references to three components of issues-centered teaching—content, pedagogy, and climate. Various researchers focus on differing parts of that triad, and their findings overlap with different emphases. Nevertheless, it is clear that the three separate parts of that equation alone are not sufficient. Combined, however, they can make a difference in achieving the goals of social studies. That is, if students **1.** Study issues-centered content, **2.** Are in classes where discussions, research projects, debates, simulations, or writing assignments encourage them to consider differing views or interpretations of issues, and **3.** They perceive the classroom climate as sufficiently supportive so they are comfortable expressing their own views and considering those of others, then achieving social studies goals in the knowledge, skill, and attitude domains is likely.

Dominant Patterns of Social Studies Instruction and Student Attitudes

Despite many calls in the past for issues-centered teaching, rarely do teachers promote systematic inquiry into contemporary and historic social problems, encourage students to weigh arguments and express their opinions on value conflicts in the society, and create a classroom atmosphere that is accepting and supportive of diverse viewpoints. Indeed, in a study of Michigan high school social studies teachers, only 26 out of 150 randomly selected teachers said they held discussions of social issues on a regular basis (Massialas, Sprague, and Hurst 1975). Most who research "typical" social studies classes conclude that classes tend to be textbook based, dominated by teacher talk with some student recitation, and devoid of controversial issues (Goodlad 1984; McNeil 1986; Shaver, Davis, and Helburn 1979). Given those general trends, it is not surprising that researchers found that many students do not like social studies and say it is boring and unrelated to the real world (Schug, Todd, and Berry 1984; Shaughnessy and Haladyna 1985; Shaver et al. 1979). Furthermore, researchers found that, although social studies classes can be effective in increasing knowledge about specific topics, instruction has a negligible influence on student attitudes and behaviors (Ehman 1980a; Grossman 1975/1976; Langton and Jennings 1968; Litt 1963; Miller 1985). Remarkably, the research reviewed in this chapter stands in stark contrast to this negative litany. It demonstrates that under particular conditions social studies instruction can have positive effects on students. Moreover, it reveals that issues-centered social studies instruction, in particular, holds much promise.

Several researchers, for example, found that students would like to experience issues discussions more than they do (Long and Long 1975; Remy 1972). In studying the classes of 17 Michigan teachers who said they regularly held discussions of social issues, Sugreu (cited in Massialas et al. 1975) found that, on the whole, students in those classes tended to like their teacher and class.[1] Examining more closely the differences between classes where inquiry methods provided a structure for issues discussion and "opining" classes where students merely aired their views, Massialas et al. (1975) found that students liked inquiry teachers and classes better than opining teachers and classes. Students in the inquiry classes felt their discussions had an order and purpose and that teachers were sensitive to their ideas.

In an Illinois study, social studies students who experienced controversial issues discussions had positive feelings toward their social studies courses, textbooks, and teachers—in contrast to students without such exposure. The correlations between reported issues discussions and students saying they liked social studies were substantial—.70 for junior high school students and .65 for senior high school students (Long and Long 1975). At a time when many educators and the public are concerned with making schools more humane communities for young citizens, such findings are important. But just what is issues-centered teaching and learning? What does it look like inside real classrooms?

Characteristics of Issues-Centered Classes and Teachers

In recent years researchers studying teachers and classrooms have gained insights into the roles of teachers and students in classes that might be called issues-centered. Although not using the term issues-centered in her study of four teachers' social studies classes, Bickmore (1991, 1993) revealed the dimensions of two components of issues-centered instruction—content and pedagogy. Central to her analysis of the use of conflict or controversy in social studies classes were two concepts she called *conflictual content* and *conflictual pedagogy*.

Conflictual content includes the use of controversial material or the stimulation of criticism by including perspectives from different cultures, different ideologies, and divergent sources of information. In Bickmore's study, Tom, a U.S. history teacher, organized each unit around central concepts or problems, and presented multiple viewpoints about those ideas. For example, he made the westward expansion unit problematic by attending to Native American viewpoints. Additionally, Tom showed that historians often interpret historical information differently by, for example, presenting differing views on why the United States entered World War I. To present conflictual content, Tom supplemented the textbook with many examples of differing viewpoints, and he frequently brought in current events as analogies and perspectives to illuminate historical concepts. Ruth, a world studies teacher, also approached content as problems or conflicts the students would analyze to better understand. Central to her curriculum were differences and conflicts between cultures, countries, ideologies, and ethnic or economic groups. Her goal was for students to acquire information and become tolerant of differences. She tried to present ideas that her students might build upon in future classes or out-of-school experiences. Thus, she used conflictual content but not pedagogy.

Conflictual pedagogy is the process whereby a teacher encourages students to confront conflicts that either occur spontaneously in the classroom or are teacher initiated. By frequently inviting divergent student opinions, Sarah, a world studies teacher, used conflictual pedagogy; however, she did not employ conflictual content. Tom used conflictual pedagogy as well as content. Ken, the fourth teacher, used neither conflictual content nor pedagogy in his teaching of U.S. history.[2]

Bickmore concluded that conflictual curricular content was "necessary but not sufficient" to teach for democratic citizenship. For the most part, students who were exposed to conflicts in Ruth's world studies content but did not engage in confrontation with the issues, were passive learners. An exception occurred when the class was physically organized on sides of the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and directed to express any and all opinions to each other. During that session, more students participated—more frequently and more extensively in terms of number, length, and quality of responses than in any other lessons. Students gave detailed reasons for their opinions, and, in responding to objections from the other side, they clarified and elaborated their arguments. Conflictual content was reinforced by the use of conflictual pedagogy.

Tom's class exemplified the many ways that a teacher can prepare students for participatory citizenship by using issued-centered content and pedagogy (Bickmore 1991). It also revealed some of the difficulties that can arise. His history curriculum was complex and challenging—for the teacher to prepare and for students to learn. Not every class period focused on controversy, but at some time in every week and in every unit, students engaged actively in decision making or problem solving about historic or contemporary issues. Moreover, not every student was engaged every day. Sometimes there was confusion or frustration, and sometimes the gaps in participation and achievement seemed to increase during controversial issues discussions. Sometimes confrontation of conflict stimulated student interest and brought previously nonparticipating students into the dialogue; other times it seemed to have no effect.

Rossi (1995) observed in-depth study in an issues-centered social studies classroom. He concluded that in-depth issues instruction is not a panacea because of dilemmas it creates for the teachers and the demands it places on students.

Other recent research on teachers, while not focusing on issues-centered teaching per se, further illuminates that topic. Several researchers associated with Lee Shulman at Stanford University obtained useful insights concerning the diverse ways teachers center instruction on issues. Gudmundsdottir (1988) found that two "expert" history teachers used conflict and controversy to achieve their goals of developing students' capacity for independent and critical thought and reducing their indifference. One teacher, David, used controversies and their interpretation as connecting links in his classes, emphasizing that doing history means interpreting and comparing differing perspectives on issues and events. Additionally, he frequently drew analogies between historical controversies and current events or student realities. The other teacher, Harry, viewed himself as a conflict historian and frequently presented contrasting opinions about historical events to his classes. Unlike David, Harry focused on texts, making only occasional references to current events and student realities. He used readings to supplement the students' textbook and to highlight controversies and simulations to stage conflictual situations.

Wineburg and Wilson (1988) interviewed and observed expert teachers as they taught the Revolutionary War period. One teacher highlighted a controversial historic issue by having her students read differing primary and secondary accounts in preparation for a role-played debate about the legitimacy of British taxation in the North American colonies. The teacher's goal was for students to understand that "there were two points of view, that there was legitimacy to both sides" (18). She further wanted students to participate actively in conflict by taking different positions and inventing solutions to problems.

Mason (1990) interviewed and observed expert world history teachers in Georgia. She, too, found that expert teachers used historic issues, historical debates, and contemporary analogies regularly in their teaching. These studies are important in revealing that excellent to "expert" teachers share a willingness to encourage students to explore contentious issues, using both content and pedagogy to give students practice in decision making about issues that citizens face. This stands out in contrast to the studies of large numbers of teachers and classrooms, where "average" or "typical" teachers de-emphasize or avoid controversial material in order to maintain classroom control and cover large amounts of material (Goodlad 1984; McNeil 1986; Shaver et al. 1979).

Summary. These qualitative studies of social studies teachers' beliefs and of naturally occurring classroom interaction reveal a sense of what occurs in issues-centered classes. Potential benefits of issues-centered teaching are opportunities to model democratic discourse in a pluralistic society, stimulate student interest and tolerance of diverse views, and convey the conflictual nature of scholarly discourse and community life. But the question remains: What difference does issues-centered instruction make to student learning? Is there research to indicate that student knowledge, skills, and values may be affected by such an approach?

Student Outcomes and Issues-Centered Instruction

Since the earliest debates over the form that social studies should take, the advocates of what educators now call issues-centered instruction have argued that in a democracy the appropriate preparation for citizenship is to give students practice in exploring problematic issues facing society. They advocated that, through such practice, students would not only acquire the knowledge they would need as adult citizens, but, more importantly, they would develop the necessary abilities to critically analyze public issues and to participate in a democracy. Over the years special projects demonstrated that such outcomes were associated with the use of problems- or issues-centered practices.

Critical or Higher-Order Thinking

One of the earliest studies to measure the effects of issues-centered instruction was conducted in the

1940s by the staff of the Stanford Social Education Project (Quillen and Hanna 1948). Teachers volunteered to teach an eleventh-grade U.S. history course or a twelfth-grade Problems of Democracy course using one of three approaches—problems, topical, or chronological. A problems approach was defined as an approach that applied Dewey's method of reflective inquiry to areas of public concern that would be resolved by finding a solution to the problem from among several alternatives. At the beginning and end of a school year, the Stanford researchers measured the students' critical thinking abilities as well as their knowledge and commitment to a number of social attitudes.

The evaluators concluded that seniors exposed to a problems approach as compared to matched students in classes that used a topical approach made significant growth in the following areas: critical thinking, study skills, the use of library and research skills, and social studies knowledge.[3] Students in the problems group also made more progress toward consistency and certainty in their views than did the topical group. For the juniors the differences between the problems and chronological groups were not as clear cut. Neither group significantly improved in critical thinking. The chronological group students showed more growth on the tests of social studies knowledge, but the problems group students seemed to become more consistent and certain of their view on the measure of social attitudes.[4]

In the 1960s four researchers at Indiana University similarly examined the relationship between students' critical thinking abilities and the use of a "reflective inquiry" approach to social studies instruction. In the Indiana Experiments in Inquiry (Massialas 1963), teachers of experimental group classes presented "springboards" that contained discrepant or other puzzling information and encouraged students to try to resolve the problematic situation through a process similar to the one used by teachers of the problems approach in the Stanford investigation. When using the inquiry approach, rather than asking questions for the purpose of obtaining a correct answer, the teacher probed to elicit explanatory hypotheses about human behavior, which students then tested with evidence.[5]

The four studies revealed some evidence, although not conclusive, that the use of an inquiry approach could facilitate students' higher-order thinking (Cousins 1963, Cox 1963, Elsmere 1963, Massialas 1963). In one study Cousins concluded that a class of eighth-grade students studying U.S. history using an inquiry approach made statistically significant mean score gains on the Watson-Glaser Critical Thinking Appraisal and on a teacher-constructed test of reflective thinking. The students also made significant gains on a standardized test of social studies knowledge.[6] In another of the studies, Elsmere concluded that high school students who regularly used a problem-solving approach in their U.S. history class scored significantly higher on two researcher-designed tests measuring ability to use the problem-solving steps and knowledge of U.S. history than did comparison group students; they also did better on delayed posttests than did the comparison group.[7]

However, neither Massialas, who studied four world history classes, nor Cox, who studied four U.S. history classes, identified statistically significant differences between studies in reflective inquiry or comparison classes on standardized texts of critical thinking and knowledge.[8] Nevertheless, the teacher-researchers' daily anecdotal diaries and tape recordings of several classes led both Massialas and Cox to conclude that students in the inquiry group excelled over students in the comparison group in their ability to engage in critical or reflective thinking, despite the test results.

One of the most extensive research projects on issues-centered curriculum and student thinking as the evaluation of the Harvard Social Studies Project (Levin, Newmann, and Oliver 1969; Oliver and Shaver 1966). Project students were taught to analyze controversial public policy issues using a "jurisprudential" approach, which relates a contemporary public issue to cases and raises ethical, legal, factual, and definitional questions. Unlike the emphasis on deductive reasoning characteristics of much critical thinking research, the project directors' approach emphasized the clarification of two or more legitimately held points of view as they bear on public policy issues and emphasized dialogue between teacher and students and among students—incorporating both issues content and pedagogy. Researchers examined the effects on students of using the curriculum for three years in a senior high school and for four years in a junior high school in middle-class Boston suburbs. The junior high materials promoted an analytic approach to value issues in geography, U.S. history, and current events. Comparing the experimental group students to a comparison group on a variety of measures, the evaluators concluded that the issues-centered junior high students were better able to analyze argumentative dialogues. Furthermore the time spent in the analysis of issues did not reduce the amount of traditional content the students learned.

The senior high school units in the Harvard Project focused on controversies arising from enduring problem areas such as equality, morality, and responsibility. Historical and fictional cases were used to stimulate discussion about conflicting values. The project students performed better than the comparison group of similar ability on a concept application test and on a structured dialogue analysis test called the Social Issues Analysis Text (SIAT).[9] As for acquiring traditional content, the average-ability project students did as well on a standardized content test as comparison group students of similar ability on a Problems of Democracy test; however, they did less well on a U.S. history test.

After almost a 15-year hiatus of research on issues-centered curriculum and the development of higher-order thinking skills, researchers working with the Channel One news programs recently tested the effects of conducting structured public issues discussions about issues raised in some broadcasts (Johnston, Anderman, Milne, Klenk, and Harris 1994). During "You Decide" segments, students heard conflicting views on an enduring public issue that had surfaced in a current news event. Eight teachers were trained in the use of public issues discussion strategies similar to the Harvard Project's jurisprudential approach. The teachers used the strategies when their students discussed the You Decide segments over a three-month period. The comparison group was made up of students in the same school enrolled in the same subject; they viewed the programs, but their teachers had no particular training to lead discussions. Students in both groups participated in a constructed dialogue session before and after the treatment. Additionally, they completed a Public Issues Analysis Test that was adapted from the SIAT to assess their ability to critically analyze a public issues discussion. The experimental group students scored significantly higher than the control group students on the written measure, but their oral performance was not noticeably better. Experimental group students also did better on a test of current events knowledge than did those in the comparison group.[10] Moreover, the researchers claimed that lower-ability students seemed to benefit the most when the structured public issues discussions were combined with news viewing (22).

An objection that is sometimes voiced by critics of issues-centered teaching is that it is fine for average and above-average students, but is too difficult for low-ability students. That criticism was challenged in a study of slow learners in British Columbia (Curtis and Shaver 1980). Experimental group students examined newspaper articles and booklets on housing problems and conducted a community survey of attitudes toward the local housing situation. At the conclusion of the unit, experimental group students demonstrated increased scores on a test of critical thinking as compared to comparison group students. They also showed decreased levels of dogmatism and increased levels of self-esteem.[11] Additionally, in responding to open-ended questions, experimental group students were more likely than comparison group students to express beliefs that citizens could make a difference in improving housing conditions—indicating an increase in political efficacy.

Summary. One of the most important yet most difficult goals to achieve in social studies is the development of critical analytic abilities that will enable citizens to make informed decisions about public policy issues. Issues-centered teaching is a promising approach for the development of such higher-level cognitive thinking. Successfully implementing that approach, however, is not easy. Most projects described here used a complex instructional model for the systematic analysis of public issues with carefully structured instructional materials and trained teachers. Underlying the projects was a belief that young people can learn to investigate controversial social issues and come to a more sophisticated understanding of human behavior by considering alternative views. The next section reveals why the classroom climate in which those discussions and investigations occur is of paramount importance.

Participatory Political Attitudes and Behaviors

A line of inquiry often cited for supporting an issues-centered approach to social studies is one derived from studies of youth political socialization. In particular, political socialization researchers find that students who perceive that they are encouraged to investigate and discuss controversial issues and to express their opinions develop political attitudes that support participatory citizenship. On the other hand, students who recall few opportunities to express their opinions about controversial public policy issues possess less positive attitudes toward participation, including low levels of political interest and political efficacy—the belief that citizens can influence government decisions.

Research by Ehman was particularly important in identifying a connection between adolescent political attitudes and a "classroom climate" in which democratic discourse is modeled. To operationalize the concept of classroom climate, Ehman developed a Classroom Climate Scale, which contained items to measure the extent to which students perceived that their social studies teachers dealt with social problems, discussed both sides of issues, and took neutral positions on issues (Ehman 1969). One item on the scale also asked whether students felt free to express their opinions in their social studies classes.

In the first study in a series, Ehman found that students in a Detroit high school who had higher scores on the Classroom Climate Scale reported higher degrees of controversial issues exposure in their classes, had taken more social studies classes, and had higher scores on the scale measuring political efficacy than other students. Additionally, students in open-climate classrooms also reported higher levels of political participation and a sense of citizen duty and lower levels of cynicism, although the magnitude of the relationships were "quite low indeed" with the highest correlation coefficient being .25 for climate and participation (Ehman 1969).

Within the sample Ehman (1969) compared African-American and European-American students in open and closed classroom climates and found that a closed climate was associated with negative outcomes for both black and white students. In closed climates, both groups reported low levels of political efficacy, participation, and citizen duty. Further, white students in the closed-climate group additionally expressed relatively high levels of political cynicism.[12] Clearly, the mere presence of controversial issues in the curriculum is not sufficient to bring about positive student attitudes; when issues are presented in a closed climate, there can be negative consequences.

On the other hand, Ehman and subsequent researchers found that an open classroom climate is often associated with positive student political attitudes. For both the black and white Detroit students who experienced an open climate, there was a positive correlation between issues exposure and sense of citizen duty. Additionally, for the African-American students, there were positive correlations between reported issues exposure in an open climate and a sense of political efficacy and participation and a negative correlation with cynicism.[13] In this study, however, there was virtually no relationship between open climate and those variables for white students (Ehman 1969). In later studies of adolescents, in which findings were not broken down by race, researchers found positive correlations between an open classroom climate and political efficacy and interest (Baughman 1975; Blankenship 1990; Ehman 1980b; Hahn 1991; Hahn and Tocci 1990; Harwood 1991). Most recently in a study I conducted in England, Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, and the United States, I found similar positive correlations between an open climate and adolescents' reported levels of political interest and efficacy (Hahn, forthcoming).

By supplementing questionnaire data with classroom observations in the Detroit classrooms, Ehman (1970) discovered clues to what teachers can do to facilitate issues-centered discussions. Defining a "normative mode" as when the teacher or students made value-laden statements or asked value-oriented questions characterized by words such as *should*, *ought*, *good*, or *bad*, Ehman related the amount of time each social studies teacher's class spent in the normative mode to the political attitude change scores of students exposed to particular teachers. An important finding was that very few value discussions occurred, which is consistent with later observational studies of social studies classes (McNeil 1986; Shaver et al. 1979). Nevertheless, Ehman did find that students who were exposed to the few teachers who raised value issues experienced a very slight increase in political efficacy over two years, but he emphasized that the relationship was too small to be considered meaningful. Unfortunately, subsequent researchers have not explored this question to determine whether effects would be greater when more discussion of value issues occurs.

Additionally, Ehman found that students in more normative classrooms appeared to become more politically cynical, or less trusting of government officials, as indicated by their responses to political trust items. In later studies, researchers similarly found in inverse relationship between open climate and students' level of political trust (Baughman 1975; Long and Long 1975; Zevin 1983). On the other hand, I did not find in my recent cross-national study that climate and trust were negatively correlated (Hahn, forthcoming). This may mean that if teachers and students regularly make evaluative comments in issues-centered classes, high school students may sometimes move away from the idealistic trusting view of government officials that is often found among young children to a more realistic and somewhat skeptical view of politicians and governmental decision makers.

With a sample of students in nine midwestern high schools, Ehman (1980b) found that students who recalled that a wider range of reviews was explored in social studies classes, as compared to students who recalled only one perspective being presented, had higher levels of both school and society-wide political interest and confidence. Also, they were more trusting of other students and school adults, more trusting in society, and more socially integrated than their peers. Finally, in this study as in the earlier one, students' perceived freedom to express their opinions during issues discussions was the strongest predictor of positive attitudinal outcomes with regard to both school and society.

Adding to the work on attitudes, other researchers identified political behaviors associated with an open classroom climate that might be found in an issues-centered class. For example, Long and Long (1975) examined the connection between student reports of their political behaviors outside the class and their perceptions of their social studies classroom climate. To assess student political behaviors, the researchers asked students how frequently they discussed political matters with friends and family, how frequently they followed current events in the media, and the extent of their participation in student activities, such as student government, clubs, and sports. An open classroom climate that was characterized by discussion of controversial issues correlated positively with responses on the political behavior index.[14]

Summary. Although for the most part researchers used samples of convenience ad the correlations they found between climate and political attitudes were quite modest—usually ranging between .20 and .40—the consistency of findings across studies is impressive. Discussions in issues-centered social studies classes characterized by a climate of openness and acceptance of diverse viewpoints and student opinions may be associated with positive civic outcomes. Students in such classes, as compared to students without that experience, are more likely to develop **1.** An interest in the political world, **2.** A sense that they and citizens like themselves can have some influence on political decisions in a democracy, and **3.** A belief that citizens have a duty to be actively engaged in politics. Further, they are likely to report feeling integrated into—rather than alienated from—the school culture and the wider society.

Political socialization studies also caution a few concerns. First, when issues are presented in a closed climate, students may acquire negative attitudes toward political participation. Second, when students regularly examine issues and hear diverse views, they may become skeptical of politicians. Although some would call that a healthy skepticism, others may be troubled by such an outcome.

Tolerance of Dissent and Support for Civil Liberties

Closely associated with the political socialization literature on students' political attitudes and behaviors are four studies that focus on toleration of dissent and support for civil liberties. Philosophic rationales for issues-centered discussion emphasize that in a democracy students should consider differing views so that they develop skills and attitudes for evaluating competing claims in the "free marketplace of ideas." It is hoped that they will then come to value dissent, pluralism, and civil liberties that protect diversity and democracy.

Importantly, several studies seem to confirm the realization of that goal. For example, Grossman (1975/1976) found that for a sample of California high school students, the number of controversial issues courses they had taken was related to the students' toleration of dissent and their participation in dissent activities, such as protests.[15] Further, Baughman (1975) found that students who perceived their ninth-grade civics classes to have open, or what he called "participatory" climates, showed higher levels of support for rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights than did their peers in closed-climate, low-participatory classes. Evaluations of several curriculum projects have reinforced the finding in these studies that controversial issues discussions in social studies classes were associated, however slightly, with student support for free expression and tolerance of dissent. Further, those evaluations provide descriptions of both the content and processes of some issues-centered instruction.

For example, Goldenson (1978) examined the effects of an issues-centered unit of instruction about civil liberties. During a three-week curriculum unit, students in a working-class high school near Minneapolis were exposed to a series of issues that involved the application of abstract constitutional principles to concrete situations. Group research projects on topics such as search and seizure, freedom of religion, freedom of expression, and due process of law were the focus of the unit. Students spoke with community members, including police, lawyers, and representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union to hear varied and often conflicting perspectives on their topics. Twenty percent more of the students who participated in the experimental issues-centered program than of the comparison group students reported attitude changes in support of civil liberties, and experimental group students showed an increased level of concern for the issues presented in the case studies. Interestingly, Goldenson speculated that the methods, which encouraged students to research an issue about which people disagreed, affected students more than the particular materials.

Recently, the evaluators of another issues-centered curriculum project found similarly positive effects in terms of increasing students' scores on a scale measuring civic tolerance, a willingness to extend rights to all groups (Avery, Bird, Johnstone, Sullivan, and Thalhammer 1992). *Tolerance for Diversity of Belief* (Avery, Sullivan, and others, 1993) is a four-week curriculum unit in which junior high school students explore issues associated with freedom of expression and belief. The authors incorporated a variety of activities into the program, including role-playing, analysis of case studies, and mock interview. The purpose of the project was to facilitate student understanding of the psychological, sociological, and historical dimensions of intolerance and tolerance. Toward that end, students were confronted with concrete scenarios and asked to decide for themselves what limits, if any, should be placed on freedom of expression in a democratic society. Experimental group students, as compared to the control group students, significantly increased their scores on a Political Tolerance Scale over the treatment period. Most experimental group students moved from mild intolerance to mild tolerance. Moreover, four weeks following the conclusion of the treatment, the differences persisted.[16]

In another recent study, Broudy (1994, 8) measured the effects of a civics program on student attitudes supportive of civil liberties. The experimental program, *We the People*, was described by researchers as one in which students were encouraged to give their opinions about constitutional issues.

The researchers concluded that students who were exposed to the experimental program were more supportive than comparison group students of the rights of free speech, freedom of assembly, and due process for diverse groups. Furthermore, the experimental group students reported higher levels of political efficacy and political interest than did comparison group students.[17] The students who were the most willing to extend civil liberties to diverse groups were those who had participated in competitions where they had to "explain and defend their points of view and listen carefully to the viewpoints of others" (27).

Summary. Issues-centered instruction on civil liberties and tolerance can be effective in increasing students' knowledge of the subject matter as well as improving their attitudes toward dissent and the rights of all to express their ideas. Knowledge and attitudinal outcomes occur when the classroom or extracurricular activity models democratic discourse in which all ideas, no matter how controversial, can be explored. Although the evaluators of curriculum projects did not measure classroom climate, it is possible that because the teachers volunteered to teach curricula focusing on free expression issues and inquiry into value conflicts, they had themselves internalized those principles and reflected them in their teaching practices.

Global Knowledge and Attitudes

In recent years, global education has itself become an issue in social studies. In another review, Leming (1992) concluded that, for the most part, global education curricula had not been effective. Indeed, in studies where researchers were unable to document the ways in which global issues materials were implemented, few if any differences were found between students exposed to global issues and those who were not (Armstrong 1979; McAlvin 1989; Smith 1977; Soley 1982).[18] However, in those cases where students were encouraged to discuss controversial global issues in an open classroom climate, positive changes (in attitudes toward global issues) occurred.

In one study that yielded positive outcomes, Kehoe (1980) compared different approaches to teaching about the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—a common topics in global education. He examined the effects of two days of lessons about human rights issues on eighth-grade students in one middle-class urban school. In one experimental group, the teacher led discussions of cases whereby situations in various countries contravened articles in the Declaration, such as examples of slavery in the world today. During the discussion, the teacher-researcher asked questions to stimulate consideration of cultural differences and universal ethical principles. He encouraged students to consider the consistency and underlying value premises of their positions. In the second experimental group, or "investigation" group, the students briefly discussed in small groups their understanding of the articles in the Universal Declaration, then they individually read news articles and wrote their position on contraventions of human rights principles. The third group—a comparison group—viewed a filmstrip on the United Nations. Students in both treatment groups that explored human rights issues in the context of large group discussions and individual investigation were more likely than comparison group students to say that a practice condoned in a given culture was wrong if it contradicted the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[19]

By making classroom observations and by administering a classroom climate scale to students, Blankenship (1990) determined that an issues-centered global education program used in conjunction with classroom discussion in an open climate was associated with the development of worldmindedness and an interest in global issues. He investigated the relationship between classroom climate and global attitudes and knowledge in high school international relations and world affairs courses where students used the issues-centered materials, *Great Decisions*. Blankenship reported that the program developers encouraged the use of a variety of instructional methods including value analysis and decision making "to enable students to examine controversial public policy issues." Blankenship found a positive correlation between climate and global attitudes.[20] Although this particular study had important limitations (a self-selected sample of students in an elective course, no comparison group, and many students did not complete both the pretest and posttests), this line of inquiry is worth pursuing in the future. Additionally, this is one of the few studies related to issues-centered instruction in which the researcher analyzed the data by race and gender. Female students perceived the classes to be more open than did male students and African-American students perceived them to be more open than did European-American students. Hopefully, future studies will explore further the relationships among race, gender, class, issues-centered teaching, and student outcomes.

A second global education study that attended to content, method, and climate, conducted in eight Bay Area California high schools, was the evaluation of part of the Stanford and the Schools Study called the American Schools and the World project (Duggan, Grossman, and Thorpe 1986; Torney-Purta and Lansdale 1986). The evaluators found that teaching strategies, rather than issues content, yielded differences in student understanding and appreciation of international material. The most effective teaching strategies included using divergent questioning styles, giving students conflicting sources of information to investigate, and encouraging tolerance for democratic dissent. Moreover, students reporting that they felt free to express opinions different from the teacher's was a significant predictor of both global knowledge and concern for global issues (Torney-Purta and Lansdale 1986).[21]

Similarly, in a study of four Michigan high schools, Yocum (1989) found that global education courses were a significant predictor of global attitudes if—and only if—students perceived that their class discussed issues and that they felt comfortable expressing their views. Yocum separated the 618 sample students into those who took a course with a global emphasis and those who did not. He then compared their pretest and posttest scores on a scale measuring globalmindedness. He also examined scores on the discussion index of the Classroom Environment scale, which contained items similar to those on the Classroom Climate scale used by other researchers. Controlling for pretest scores, he found that the courses did not have an effect on globalmindedness, except when level of classroom discussion—or climate—was taken into account. However, Yocum cautioned, even then the differences were substantively minimal; to bring about substantial change may demand more intense and lengthy interventions.

Summary. When attention to the triple variables of content, pedagogy, and climate results in presenting content from multiple perspectives, using interactive pedagogical strategies, and maintaining an open classroom climate, then essential ingredients for effective issues-centered instruction in global education, as well as in other social studies content areas, appear to be present. In particular, there is some evidence that students may increase in their knowledge of global issues and in attitudes of globalmindedness and concern for global issues. When they have the opportunity to actively engage in decision making about global issues, they may develop a more complex understanding of the international arena and of global issues; they may also experience a reduction in stereotyping about other peoples and cultures. Given the recent interest in global education, it is hoped that there will soon be more research to add depth to understanding the ways in which global issues-centered instruction can be most effective.

Discussion and Questioning in Issues-Centered Teaching

Because the controversial nature of any issue can be confronted or avoided by the questions that a teacher asks and how a teacher responds to student comments and questions, research on questioning patterns and discussion is important to examine. The British educational philosopher David Bridges (1979) argued that primary attributes of a discussion are that understanding and judgment of the issue under consideration are developed, more than one point of view is offered, and participants are open to differing points of view. Bridges believed that discussion is an essential component of democracy because it reflects democratic values and processes including rationality, decision making, commitment to fairness, and respect for others' opinions, feelings, and interests.

Such discussion is particularly appropriate to issues-centered classes, whereas the more frequently found recitations will not achieve the goals Bridges identified. Numerous researchers have identified the predominance of recitation in social studies classes—and unfortunately, many well-intended teachers believe they are leading a discussion of an issue when they ask students questions about a reading, video, or current event when in reality they are leading a recitation (Larsen and Parker 1994). During recitation the teacher seeks a known or correct answer. In their review of research on discourse and interaction in social studies classes, Wilen and White (1991) limited their use of the term discussion to discourse that does not include recitation. Citing Gage's 1969 definition, they highlighted features whereby a teacher engages "two or more learners in a cooperative examination and comparison of views in order to illuminate an issue and contribute to the learners' understanding" (Wilen and White 1991, 489). Wilen and White concluded from their synthesis of research that in true discussions, the pace slows, both student and teacher remarks are longer than in recitations, the tone drops to a quieter, more intimate one, and there are pauses. The sequence of speakers changes from teacher-student-teacher to more student-to-student interaction between teacher interventions.

To enhance the breadth and depth of student participation in issues-centered discussions, teachers can incorporate practices supported by research on questioning. Redirecting can be useful in increasing the number of students who participate in a classroom discussion—an important goal if one's rationale for issues-centered teaching is to prepare students for dialogue in a participatory democracy. For example, in a discussion of an issue, a teacher may, without first commenting on a student response, redirect a question to several students with such questions as, "Does anyone else have an idea or opinion about that?" "What do you think about that?" Also, teachers can use such nonverbal cues as eye contact to encourage additional students to enter a discussion. Probing—the use of either verbal or nonverbal cues to encourage students to elaborate—may also enhance issues-centered discussions.

Another point about questioning is troubling. Several researchers found that students from low socioeconomic status homes and those of low ability are less likely than their high ability and high socioeconomic peers to be asked high level, divergent, and evaluative questions—for which there is not a single right answer (Wilen and White 1991). Such a pattern is not only unjust but unwarranted because there is no evidence that low ability and low socioeconomic students are any less able than their peers to work effectively with issues-centered approaches. Indeed, such an approach may be particularly motivating for them and bring more students into discussions if teachers offer opportunities for all to reflect upon challenging and personally meaningful questions (Bickmore 1991, 1993; Curtis and Shaver 1980).

Finally, researchers distinguish discussions from "bull sessions" in which opinions are merely exchanged.[22] Roby (1988, 171, cited in Wilen and White 1991) claimed that when participants merely argue about the "rightness" of their ideas rather than thoughtfully "entertain[ing] the validity of more than one idea," they are not engaged in a discussion. A discussion, then, often requires a teacher to skillfully lead students to evaluate one another's comments with attention to evidence, logic, and consideration of consequences and values.

Effective discussions can occur in small groups—or "on-line" with computers as Torney-Purta (1990) observed—as well as in whole class sessions. Several chapters in this handbook present varied formats for effective discussion.

New Research Directions in Issues-Centered Instruction

Researchers are currently pursuing several additional lines of inquiry that are yielding insights relevant to issues-centered instruction. For example, because issues-centered instruction requires students to thoughtfully analyze complex issues without a single correct answer, recent research on dialectical thinking, problem solving, and thoughtfulness is relevant.

Parker and colleagues have applied the principle of scaffolding to help middle and high school students reason about public issues (Parker, Mueller, and Wendling 1989; Parker, McDaniel, and Valencia 1991). They have been successful in teaching students a process of dialectical thinking in which they interrogate a number of positions and supporting arguments including their own, and reflect upon the cognitive and affective processes they used in constructing their arguments and counterarguments. Thus, students develop critical thinking and metacognitive abilities that are needed to reason well about social, political, and economic issues. Additionally, Voss has conducted research on problem solving by experts and novices when they tackle social, economic, and political problems. Recently, Carretero and Voss (1994) have begun to direct their work toward learning and teaching in social studies.[23]

If one purpose for using an issues-centered approach is to develop students' higher-order thinking abilities in social studies, then the characteristics of classes and schools that are successful in promoting thoughtfulness will be instructive. In particular, educators who want to implement issues-centered instruction will gain insights from the work of Newmann (1991, 426) and his colleagues on social studies classrooms, departments, and schools that promote thoughtfulness (see *Theory and Research in Social Education* 19, no. 4, Fall, 1991). Further, in planning evaluations of their programs, they should take heed of Newmann's point that "success in meeting higher order challenges in a specific content area demands in-depth knowledge in the area, not simply general skills and dispositions." Perhaps future researchers investigating issues-centered instruction will be able to demonstrate greater effects on student thinking than did the early studies at Stanford, Indiana, Michigan, and Harvard if content-specific assessment instruments are used to measure high-level thinking and the treatment includes issues content, conflictual pedagogy, and a supportive classroom climate for the open, careful examination of controversial issues.

Another area that warrants further attention is one identified by Bickmore (1991) in her case studies of four classes. She noted that in classes with issues content and pedagogy as well as in the other classes, the vast majority of students most of the time did not speak up, initiate discussion, or participate in collective evaluation of ideas. She noticed that across all classes from one third to one half of the class "had learned a trick of invisibility." When students did speak in class, it was often in a drill format, filling in short answers to a teacher's convergent questions. Further studies are needed to determine whether issues-centered classes can be created that engage all students in the exploration of social issues. Bickmore's case studies also illustrate that diverse students in the same classroom experience issues-centered instruction differently and that even the most masterful issues-centered teachers face difficult challenges. Bickmore deliberately selected teachers in schools with mixed ethnic, economic, and ability levels so that she could attend to differential effects of the use of conflict on differing students. She noted, however, that she could only infer from her observations about the effects of the different teaching styles on particular students. Future researchers might shift the focus from classroom interaction to student information processing by analyzing student interviews. Thus, they could assess the different meanings diverse students make from issues-centered instruction.

Issues-centered educators, like all educators, can benefit from new research on the instructional implications of gender, race, ethnicity, and class. There is some indication that females and males have differing interests in and ways of thinking about public issues (Hahn 1996). Political socialization researchers have identified differing effects of race, class, and ethnicity on attitudes toward democratic participation. Researchers studying culturally sensitive pedagogy (Irving 1990; Hollins, King, and Haymen 1994) point out that by making changes in content, pedagogy, and climate, educators can better help so-called minority youth perceive social studies as more personally meaningful. Researchers studying the outcomes and processes of issues-centered teaching in the future should pay much more attention to variables of gender, race, class, and ethnicity than they have done in the past.

Finally, with attention to the ways different students are affected by issues-centered instruction, researchers should investigate such instruction at the elementary school level and the long-term effects of issues-centered teaching over the school years. The ultimate question is whether individuals and a democratic society benefit when youth experience an issues-centered civic education. In the end, do they become reflective, participating adult citizens? The answer to that question remains the yet unfulfilled challenge of social studies teachers, curriculum developers, teacher educators, and researchers.

Conclusions

Despite the limited research evidence that is available, social studies educators who make a commitment to issues-centered instruction are likely to find that their students become more interested in the political arena, develop a greater sense of political efficacy and confidence, and become more interested in the issues that they have studied as well as knowledgeable about them. Moreover, when issues content, conflictual pedagogy, and an open classroom climate are combined, more students may participate in class discussions, and express more reflective thinking and in-depth understanding than they would otherwise. Furthermore, students are likely to enjoy social studies more and to perceive that social studies instruction is useful for understanding the world around them. As readers build cases for the use of issues-centered curriculum, pedagogy, and climate in social studies classes, they should realize that insights gained from research in other settings can be helpful. With more issues-centered schools to study in the future, researchers can determine the long-term effects of such programs with diverse students in diverse settings. The benefits for students and society will be many, and teachers who use an issues-centered approach will find their work a stimulating and continuing challenge.

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Notes

1. Students who believed that students had a right to express their opinions in class liked their class, and some felt their teacher was one of the best they ever had. However, those who gave little credence to student expression and who did not like to participate in class discussions were more negative in their evaluations.

2. Examining the perspectives of teachers such as Ken may help us to understand why the majority of teachers do not use an issues-centered approach. Ken wanted all students to be successful, and he did not want to embarrass slow students, so he was careful not to give students tasks that would be too difficult for them. For that reason, on most days Ken had students work independently reading or doing worksheets, and once a week they heard a speaker or viewed a film. Social studies knowledge was presented as "unchanging fragments of neutral data" (Bickmore 1991, 95).

3. The sample for this study consisted of 465 students in five schools with predominantly white populations in western states. Instruments developed by the staff of the Eight Year Study of Progressive Education were used to measure critical thinking and social attitudes, whereas standardized tests of U.S. history and contemporary issues information were used to measure knowledge. The criteria set for "significant growth" was the gain in mean score for a treatment group on the posttest over the pretest mean, which, if divided by the standard error of that difference, would yield a critical ratio of three or more, indicating that the difference was too great to be due to chance (Quillen and Hanna 1948, 156). Students in treatment groups were matched by intelligence, age, reading ability, and socioeconomic background.

4. Interestingly, the researchers said they thought that the competence of the teacher was more important to the use of the problems approach than was the subject matter or the age of the students (178-79). Having rated all teachers on a checklist of teaching behaviors, they noted that the U.S. history teachers were not as strong in their teaching ability as were those who taught the seniors, and it was the authors' judgment that the problems approach requires superior teaching. The report of the Stanford Research project did not include specific descriptions of the eight classes that were studied so it is not possible to determine whether the three treatment groups varied in the controversial nature of content that was presented, in the number of positions or perspectives

considered on an issue, or the extent to which students were encouraged to express their opinions. Those features of issues-centered instruction may have been more difficult to implement in a problems approach where the content was history than in a course designed to focus on social problems.

5. Subjects in three of the Indiana studies were students in the university laboratory school; those in the fourth study attended another high school in the state. The four researchers administered pretests in September and posttests in December or January; one further administered a delayed posttest 12 weeks after the conclusion of the treatment.

6. The t-test differences between pretest and posttest scores were 5.18 (p.<01) on the Watson-Glaser test, 4.90 (p.<01) on the teacher-designed test, and 5.18 (p.<01) on the standardized knowledge test. No comparison group was used.

7. The t-test differences between experimental and comparison groups on the posttests were 10.09 (p.<001) on the problem-solving measure and 2.37 (p.<05) on the knowledge test. On the delayed posttests, the t-test differences were 11.42 (p.<001) on the problem-solving test and 3.49 (p.<01) on the knowledge test.

8.Differences between groups on the test of critical thinking were t=1.40, F(1.40) for the world history classes and t=.37, F (1.27) for the U.S. history classes. Differences between groups on the knowledge tests were t=.77, F (1.53) for the world history classes and t=.29, F (1.34) for the U.S. history classes. Massialas speculated that it was possible that the researchers serving as the teacher for both treatments, and possibly inadvertently using the same approach with both groups, could have accounted for the finding of no difference on the standardized instruments.

9. On the open-ended SIAT, the project group performed substantially higher than the comparison group (experimental group mean 48.6, s.d. 13.6 compared to a mean of 34.8 for the comparison group).

10. The differences between the groups were: for the written analysis of an issue, Beta .28, p.<001 and on the current events knowledge measure, Beta .21, p.<001.

11. On the critical thinking test, adjusted posttest means for the experimental and comparison groups, respectively, were 27.12, and 22.96, Eta .03, p.<01. Means for dogmatism were 132.67 and 148.48, Eta .09, p.<01. Means for self-esteem were 132.67, 148.48, Eta .09, p.<01.

12. In the closed-climate condition correlations for black and white students, respectively, were: for political efficacy, -.20 and -.32; for participation -.30 and -.66; for citizen duty, -.39, -.52; and for political cynicism -.05, and .45.

13. In the open-climate condition, the correlations between climate and citizen duty were .13 for blacks and .24 for whites. Additionally, for blacks, the correlations between open climate and political efficacy, participation, and cynicism, respectively, were .29, .43, and -.28.

14. The correlations between open climate and political behaviors were .60 for junior high media use and .40 for senior high discussions with friends and family; all other correlations were .10 to .31. Contrary to other studies, however, Long and Long found a negative correlation between issues discussion and political efficacy (-.24 for junior high and -.27 for senior high school students). That they did not ask whether teachers maintained a neutral position regarding issues nor whether students felt comfortable expressing opinions may hold the key to the apparently contradictory findings.

15. The correlation between toleration of dissent and participation in dissent activities was .11. However, students' perceptions of freedom to express their views in class had only a negligible positive correlation with toleration of dissent (.07).

16. To measure the effects of the curriculum on ninth-grade students, the researchers administered pretests, posttests, and delayed posttests to experimental and comparison groups in two rural schools with predominantly white populations and one urban school where the population was 44 percent people of color. The difference between the experimental and comparison groups' change scores on the Political Tolerance Scale was p=.002, effect size .15. On

the delayed posttests, the mean tolerance scores of the experimental group students remained higher than their mean pretest scores (p=.000, effect size .63), but neither their dislike of their least-liked group nor their threat perception changed significantly (p=.755, effect size .04). That is, although they still did not like a group and believed they were dangerous, they were willing to extend rights to the group.

17. The experimental group consisted of 861 studies in 30 classes that used the text *With Liberty and Justice For All*, produced by the staff of the *We the People* project. Comparison group students (n-490) were in U.S. history or government classes taught by members of the National Council for the Social Studies who were not using the same text. The differences between groups for support of free speech, assembly, and due process, respectively, were t= 6.85, 5.38, and 2.56. The differences for political efficacy and political interest, respectively were t=6.32 and t=8.51.

18. Armstrong (1979) and Smith (1977) found no effects on student attitudes, comparing students exposed to two or more units in the Global Studies Project developed at Indiana University. Soley (1982), on the other hand, did find that middle school students who completed six units of the Global Studies in Geography Project (also based at Indiana University) exhibited reduced levels of ethnocentrism and increased ability to recognize that others in various cultures have perspectives different from their own. McAlvin (1989) compared students exposed to *The Developing World* program developed by staff of the World Bank to students exposed to a more traditional area studies approach to geography. She concluded that neither content, strategies, nor grade level significantly affected posttest attitude scores (148). The data with regard to knowledge gains were inconclusive, varying depending on grade level, ability group, methods, and content used. Because the researchers did not report observational data on how the various curricula were actually implemented, it is not possible to determine whether or not issues-centered content was taught in such a manner that students confronted issues, weighed alternatives, and expressed their opinions in an open climate.

19. The differences between the two treatment groups and the comparison group saying that contraventions were wrong were t=2.20, p.<03 and t=2.59, p.<01. Students in the investigation group scored significantly higher on knowledge of the law than did students in either the discussion or control group (t=3.95, p.<01, t=4.65, p.<01). Students in the discussion group were more accepting of customs that were not contraventions of the Universal Declaration than were students in the control group (t=2.53, p.<01).

20. At the conclusion of a semester-long course in one southeastern metropolitan area, students completed questionnaires measuring their global knowledge and global attitudes. Additionally, Blankenship analyzed teachers' daily logs and observers' checklists. Two observations were made in each class to assess climate and how the issues-centered program was taught.. The correlation between climate and attitudes, as measured by the questionnaires, was .32. The mean score on the classroom climate scale was 4.6 on a 6-point Likert scale, leading one to believe that students perceived the climate to be relatively open. However, observers noted that, when they were present, most class time was spent in lecture and recitation rather than in open discussion.

21. For knowledge: Betas .22, p.<001, .13, p.<001; and for attitudes: Betas .16, p.<01, .09, p.<01.

22. The research conducted by Massialas and his colleagues at the University of Michigan distinguished between opining and inquiry classes for that reason (Massialas et al. 1975).

23. Other research on learning theory is applicable to issues-centered instruction as well as to other approaches to social studies. The chapter on issues-centered economics instruction by Armento, Rushing, and Cook in this handbook demonstrates the use of learning principles related to motivation, prior knowledge, and restructuring of existing schema.

Barriers to the Promotion of Higher-Order Thinking in Social Studies[1]*

by Joseph J. Onosko, University of New Hampshire

Introduction

> There is no use in claiming to teach boys and girls how to study, and how to command their intellectual forces by the current practice of keeping them at the point of the bayonet in rehearsal of textbook facts... (Stevens, 1912, p. 26).[2]

> The chief purpose of this analysis...was to get some evidence bearing on the growth of pupils in understanding. From this point of view the study was not successful for the simple reason that...the pupils did not talk enough to give any evidence of mental development (Corey, 1940, p. 745).[3]

> The dominant modes of instruction continue to be large group, teacher-controlled recitation and lecture, based primarily on textbook (Shaver, Davis, and Helburn, 1979, p. 151).

> Most discussion in classrooms, when it occurs, calls for simple recall...serious intellectual discussion is rare...how can the relatively passive and docile roles of students prepare them to participate as informed, active and questioning citizens? (Boyer, 1983, pp. 146-147).

The paucity of serious intellectual challenge in America's schools as observed by the above researchers has been echoed by many others past and present. It seems that America's long and rich history of placing the development of students' higher order thinking as a fundamental educational goal (Cuban, 1984a; Mann, 1979) has remained only that, a goal. However, unlike many goals that remain suspended in the rarefied air of political rhetoric, the past decade has witnessed many sincere efforts in this area, both in theory (e.g., Glaser, 1984; McPeck, 1981; Newmann, 1991; Schrag, 1988; Siegel, 1988) and in practice (e.g., Alter and Salmon, 1987; Chance, 1986; Costa, 1985; Pressiesen, 1986; Walsh and Paul, 1987). Despite these efforts, there remains a conspicuous absence of cognitive challenge in most classrooms.

Recent research of typical or representative social studies departments indicated inconsistent and modest efforts at promoting students' thinking, while the study of atypical or select departments revealed superior programs but opportunity for significant improvement (Newmann, in press). In addition, Newmann, Onosko, and Stevenson (1990) found that among 25 prominent staff developers working to help improve teachers' instruction for thinking, only a few could document that their efforts actually modified teachers' classroom practices and all were quick to cite numerous barriers to their efforts.

Why is it so difficult to make classroom activities more intellectually challenging? What barriers foil teachers' efforts to promote students' thinking? In this paper I will outline the dominant school-related barriers that, according to our 5-year study, confront social studies departments as they attempt to institute greater emphasis on higher order thinking.[4]

The conceptual framework and methodology for this study are described by Newmann (this volume) including the definition of higher order thinking, resources needed by student-thinkers to successfully address challenging tasks, and the observational dimensions used to identify exemplary teachers and assess the degree to which classroom thoughtfulness occurred in a given lesson.

The term "barrier" is used here to refer to obstacles that inhibit or prevent the observance of higher-

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order thinking among students in classrooms. The operationalization of higher-order thinking in the form of six dimensions of classroom thoughtfulness (CHOT) helped to direct the identification of the dominant barriers discussed below.

Methodology

In-depth interviews were conducted and questionnaire responses were gathered in 16 social studies departments nationwide from 56 teachers and from each department chair and principal. Nearly 500 classroom observations of teachers' lessons were gathered by a 6-member research team. Teachers were ranked according to the score of their lessons on classroom thoughtfulness. References below to "successful" or "outstanding" teachers indicate teachers whose average CHOT scores placed them in the top 20 percent of the 56 teachers interviewed in this sample. To further inform this inquiry, extensive interviews were conducted and written responses to a questionnaire were obtained from 25 staff developers from around the country working to help improve teachers' instruction for thinking.[5]

Based upon (a) the above data, (b) informal observations from each member of the research team, and (c) a perusal of the research literature on social studies education and the broader, school change literature, a number of barriers to the promotion of thinking were identified. Using analytic arguments, classroom observations, and/or interview data, the research team reached consensus on six dominant barriers to thinking. For example, in their classroom observations each member of the team witnessed the detrimental effect of the barrier described as "broad, superficial content coverage." Teachers and staff developers consistently identified content coverage as a barrier, and persuasive arguments in the scholarly literature (Newmann, 1988; Sizer, 1984) have also emphasized its negative impact.

For some of the other barriers discussed below, the sources of evidence were less comprehensive. For example, the barrier described as a "culture of teacher isolation" was not supported by teacher interview data. Only a few teachers mentioned isolation as a barrier to thinking. We think this omission can be explained by the fact that their immersion in such a culture prevented teachers from seeing it or its negative effects. Similarly, in departments where dialogue and sharing did occur (and, not coincidently, where higher-order thinking was more likely to be observed) teachers also failed to identify isolation as a barrier. Isolation was included in a dominant barrier, nevertheless, because all members of the research team observed the detrimental effects of teacher isolation (and the benefits that accrued when isolation was less pronounced), and because previous research consistently documents the powerful effect school culture has on teaching and teachers (Bullough, 1987; Feiman-Nemser and Floden, 1986; Little, 1982; Sarason, 1982).

The identification of dominant barriers, therefore, involved not only the scrutiny of teachers' perceptions, but also the collective conclusions of the research team based on observations of diverse phenomena in the schools. A case is built below for each barrier, combining analytic arguments with quantitative and qualitative research findings.

Barriers

Teaching as Knowledge Transmission

Social studies teachers are expected to present information, ideas, and issues in history, the social sciences, and civic affairs. In theory, this subject matter can be taught in ways that are intellectually challenging, and, indeed, exceptional teachers do just that (Onosko, 1990; Wineburg and Wilson, 1988). However, research consistently documents that content is transmitted to students in ways that fail to challenge students to think (Cuban, 1984b; Goodlad, 1984; Hare and Pullman, 1980; Shaver et al, 1979; Sirotnik, 1983).

The overriding agenda in classrooms remains student acquisition of knowledge, be it generalizations, themes, facts, chronological events, or beliefs held by prominent people past and present. The educational focus is on the products of others' (that is, authorities') thought. The dominant goal is to transmit these conclusions to students and to ensure that students can reproduce them (Cuban, 1984a; Sirotnik, 1983; Whitehead, 1929; Wiggins, 1989). The drive to enculturate youth, to expose them to knowledge deemed important by society, is so pervasive that it tends to displace thinking from the school agenda. An inordinate emphasis on student acquisition of products of authoritative inquiry (rather than student participation in inquiry) was observed in our research and serves as one of the major barriers to the promotion of students' thinking.[6]

Carl Schorske of Princeton University poignantly identified the tension between knowledge transmission and thinking:

> Do you regard "learning" as a noun or a verb? If as a noun, as a thing to be possessed and passed along, then you present your truths, neatly packaged, to your students. But, if you see "learning" as a verb!—the process is different. (Boyer, 1987, p. 151)

In an environment of knowledge transmission, the assemblage of evidence and inferential thinking that undergirds the knowledge delivered is often ignored. Much like crossing a bridge, students see the road surface but not the pilings and support beams. Students are less likely to give reasons and explanations because the goal is to demonstrate comprehension of facts and concepts (i.e., products or "truths"), not the reasoning that validates them. Questions and solutions are not presented as problematic, nor are students required to interpret, analyze, or manipulate information in ways that go beyond the teacher's or text's presentation of it History lessons that emphasize chronology are particularly prone to lower-order cognitive demands as students face an endless series of "then this happened" recitations. Duckworth (1987) articulates the opposition that can occur between knowledge acquisition and reasoning:

> In most classrooms, it is the quick right answer that is appreciated. Knowledge of the answer ahead of time is, on the whole, more valued than ways of figuring it out...knowing the right answer is overrated...Knowing the right answer requires no decisions, carries no risks, and makes no demands. It is automatic. It is thoughtless.

Transmission orientations to teaching and learning can be observed in the comments of two teachers in the research sample:

> I like to be in charge. I like to run the class. There probably would be more thinking if I talked less and let them think more. But many students like it when I talk, they say they understand it better that way.

> You know, we don't work to elicit the ideas and the strains of thought from students. We instead will say, "Well, I'm just going to tell them. I'll take a short cut." And that's a danger. It's an insidious thing that happens in teaching.

The perspective provided by the above teachers is shared by others. When asked if they found "exposing students to subject matter content (a) more, (b) less, or (c) equally interesting as developing student thought and reasoning," less than one in twenty teachers (4 percent) from the sample of 56 teachers selected the development of thought and reasoning as more interesting. Almost one-third (30 percent) selected exposure to content as more interesting than developing student thought and reasoning (66 percent of the sample said equally interesting).[7]

Teachers' desire to transmit knowledge is deeply rooted. Their collegiate experience is typically dominated by instruction that emphasizes knowledge transmission through lecture (Boyer, 1987; Gross, 1989; Nicholls, 1984; Shaver, 1989). Nicholls (1984) describes this situation when summarizing the perceptions of British exchange instructors:

> ...there was an underlying consensus on the intrinsic features of the U.S. system of higher education. History courses...were organized around a lecture program and an accompanying text...while the information thus imparted was later "retrieved" by some "objective" test to measure just how much of it the excessively grade-conscious student had ingested...Education proffered in this way is in real danger of losing its original etymological sense of a "drawing out" and becoming much more of a "putting in." (Nicholls, p. 65)

Educational experiences of this kind reinforce through modeling the same instruction in the next generation of teachers.

After years of hearing declarative statements in the classroom, future teachers come to hold less-than sophisticated conceptions of knowledge. Rather than perceiving knowledge claims as open to debate and revision, knowledge is often viewed as fixed, absolute, and certain. While "facts" exist and consensus can be found on certain interpretations of events in history and phenomenon in the social sciences, more typically there exists disagreement and debate. Knowledge is continually being constructed, challenged and recast. But a steady diet of narrative, authoritarian accounts of subject matter from both college instructor and college text can produce uncritical consumers of facts, events, ideas, generalizations, and theories, the origins of which remain unexamined and unchallenged.

Alternative forms of instruction are necessary if the next generation of teachers is to appreciate and share with students an understanding of the interpretive nature of social science and historical inquiry (Boyer, 1987; Walsh and Paul, 1987). Sarason (1982) and Gross (1989) have noted the authoritarian orientation in many teachers' instruction:

> Although unverbalized, the ground rules were not difficult to discern. First, the task of the student was to get the right answer and this was more important than how one arrived at the answer. By "more important" I mean simply that the right answer was what teacher and student obviously treasured. Second, for any one problem or question there was a correct way of thinking about and answering it. Third, thinking was really not a complicated affair. (Sarason, 1982, p. 221)

> Many teachers...are encouraged in working with the impressionable youngsters under their control to act as living encyclopedias. Some of these individuals approach what sociologists have identified as "authoritarian personalities." Such teachers are threatened by being a learner among learners in a joint exploration of an unchartered enterprise. (Gross, 1989, p. 186)

In contrast, teachers aware of the constructive nature of knowledge attack transmission and absolutist conception of knowledge. One exceptional teacher discussed the negative effect authoritarian teachers have on the development of the good student-thinker:

> A good thinker isn't afraid if someone challenges a position. A good thinker is willing to take a look at someone else's hypothesis or theory even if it's 180 degrees apart from his own, rather than a dogmatic knower, someone who knows dogma. Most kids think they're suppose to be dogmatic because they think the teachers are. They're modeling themselves on teachers who they [students] think are dogmatic.

Another equally if not more important reason for the dominance of instruction by transmission involves class size and management problems associated with educating 25-40 students at once. The severity of this problem necessitates discussion of it below as a separate, dominant barrier.

Broad, Superficial Content Coverage

A second major barrier to thinking is the tendency to cover superficially a broad range of information and ideas with students (Newmann, 1988; Sizer, 1984). Social studies practitioners are expected to teach students to read, write, respect authority, to work hard, to be punctual, and to be good citizens. They are required or pressured by interest groups to expose students to content related to United States history, world history, global education, geographic literacy, cultural literacy, state history, local history, macro and consumer economics, environmental issues, multicultural awareness, social psychology, and law-related education.

Note that the barrier of excessive content coverage need not be linked to the barrier of knowledge transmission just discussed. One can imagine a teacher who experiences very little coverage pressure but who nonetheless consistently transmits information and ideas to students. Be it a few or many content objectives, the teacher who views learning as the acquisition of "nouns" (thought-products) and teaching as the transmission of them is unlikely to challenge students' thinking. This point was not missed by one outstanding teacher of thinking in our sample:

> you could survey all of American history in a boring, non-critical, non-thinking way or your could focus for the whole 18-week semester on the causes of WWII in a boring, non-thinking, non-critical way.

In practice, however, the coverage barrier is often observed in conjunction with the barrier of knowledge transmission. Why? When great value is placed upon the transmission and possession of knowledge, it is but a small step to also place great value on the quantity of knowledge possessed. Add to this the multidisciplinary, synoptic nature of social studies and the vast terrain of topics involved, and one finds teachers (and students) buried in a landslide of content. The drive to cover more and more content in turn reinforces instruction by transmission, because it is seen as the most expedient method to teach (though not necessarily learn) information and ideas. Therefore, one can say that the drive to transmit knowledge leads to a curriculum of coverage, and likewise, a curriculum of coverage necessitates knowledge transmission as the dominant form of instruction.

Why is extensive content coverage detrimental to the promotion of higher-order thinking? The attempt to implant vast amounts of information in the minds of students leaves little time for students to explore information, to reflect upon it, to recast it, to draw connections, to ask questions about it—in short, to think about rather than mindlessly absorb information. The coverage press often led teachers in our sample to ask questions that required only simple recall (you have it or you do not), and necessitated fast-paced question-and-answer sequences to get through the lesson material.

The vast number and variety of facts and ideas to be covered also made it difficult to develop lessons that exhibited internal coherence, and coherence between lessons. Paraphrasing Newmann (1988), "there is little to prove or explore in the curriculum that is 'a mile wide and a foot deep'." In addition, the coverage press left teachers themselves with little time to share their own thinking with students, to acknowledge the problematic nature of solutions to problems and explanations to events, and to listen to and reward students' thinking.

Many teachers are well aware of the negative effect that coverage has on the promotion of students' thinking. When asked to identify the three most detrimental barriers to instruction for thinking, 39 percent of teachers in our sample included content coverage in their list of three barriers. Overall, the press of coverage was the fourth most frequently mentioned barrier identified by teachers (see Table 1).

Why are many teachers compelled to frantically race their students across miles of information and ideas rather than thoughtfully walk students across shorter stretches of content? Coverage-oriented teachers in the sample offered responses such as the following:

> I'm more survey oriented. There's a conflict in my head but I go for coverage. The kids like it, I like it, exposure is important. If they know a little, they can go on to further understanding themselves or in college.

> I'd like to cover some things in more detail but I had too many classes that I went through where the teacher never covered the material they were supposed to...Most of my students are going on to college and I don't want them getting into a college situation where they've never heard of Plato. Now they may have forgotten when they get there what his ideas were, but at least they'll say, "Oh, a Greek philosopher" and know a little bit about him.

Newmann (1988) provided insight on this question when he pointed out that even though the purpose of "education is, in a sense, to cover material—that is, to expose students to and make them familiar with new information," this fact has:

> fostered the illusion (firmly held by professional educators and by the general public) that it is possible to teach a reasonably comprehensive sample of all the worthwhile knowledge that is currently available (p. 346).

This belief or "illusion" is deeply entrenched in American culture. It will prove extremely difficult to modify, as possession of numerous, discrete,

TABLE 1:
Frequency of Barriers Mentioned as One of the Three Most Detrimental Barriers to Instruction for Thinking
(N-56 teachers)

Barrier	Frequency(%)
Lack of planning time	48%
Students (little motivation, lack thinking skills, knowledge, or capacity)	45%
Large class size	41%
Extensive content coverage	39%
Large total student load	29%
Lack of instructional materials that emphasize thinking	25%
Teachers' own lack of knowledge about teaching for thinking	14%
Short class length	11%
Twelve other barriers were mentioned that achieved frequencies of less than	10%

knowledge bits serves as the nucleus of the culture's conception of education itself. Familiarity with a wide range of information may be perceived by most in society to be a serious and difficult intellectual enterprise, but many cognitive psychologists, philosophers and educators see much knowledge acquisition as nothing more than the assemblage of "inert ideas" through "lower-order" memorization (Bloom, 1956; Duckworth, 1987; Newmann, 1988; Sizer, 1984; Whitehead, 1929).

Teachers' extensive exposure to superficial, breadth-oriented coursework in their own post-secondary education leads not only to a transmission pedagogy, as was discussed in the preceding section, but reinforces a coverage "ethic" in their own teaching. This exposure also prevents many teachers from pursuing topics in-depth when they so desire. A number of teachers in the research sample expressed concern that though they might prefer in-depth inquiry, they would not know how to fill classroom time if coverage pressure were removed. These teachers simply did not believe they knew enough about topics or the inquiry process to sustain discussion for more than a lesson.[8]

According to teachers, other sources of coverage pressure come from state and national assessment instruments, state and district curriculum guidelines, and traditional textbooks. In our sample, many teachers (43 percent) found district and state testing to be "fairly" or "extremely" detrimental to their efforts to promote students' thinking. Thirty-nine percent of teachers reported that coverage pressure from textbooks and other instructional materials had a fairly or extremely negative effect on their efforts to promote student thinking.[9] Only 15 percent indicated that state and district curriculum guidelines negatively affected their efforts.[10]

Although the coverage drive, or "disease" as Newmann (1988) has labeled it, may be due, in part, to guidelines, textbooks and tests, interviews with teachers from the research sample indicated that coverage pressure was often self-imposed (Onosko, 1989). Most teachers did not directly experience accountability demands from tests and curriculum guidelines, nor were they required to use only the textbook. Instead, they were given wide discretion to determine what would be taught, how, and when. It seems that guidelines, textbooks, and tests were used by some teachers as an excuse to account for their breadth-oriented ways.

Interestingly, teachers most effective in promoting students' thinking expressed greater displeasure with external sources of coverage pressure (i.e., curriculum guidelines, state tests, the department chair, colleagues), were less willing to acquiesce to external coverage pressure when it did exist (Onosko, 1989), and were less likely to use textbooks in their classroom instruction than were their colleagues who were least effective in promoting student thinking (Onosko, 1988).[11] These differences seem to be linked to exemplary teachers' more sophisticated conceptions of thinking and greater commitment to the promotion of student thinking (Onosko, 1989; 1991). Teacher reflection on goals and the nature of thinking itself seems to serve as an internal check on external sources of coverage pressure, and help them justify a curriculum of greater depth.

Teachers' Low Expectations of Students

A third major barrier is teachers' low expectations of students. These negative perceptions on the part of some teachers assume a variety of forms, though the effect on classroom thoughtfulness is essentially the same. Low expectations of students leads to instruction in which factual information is emphasized because students are perceived to be incapable of succeeding with or unwilling to attempt higher-order challenges involving more complex information and ideas. Almost one-half of the teachers (45 percent) cited students as one of the three most detrimental barriers to thinking, second only to "lack of planning time" (48 percent) (Table 1). Classroom observations revealed that fact-driven instructional agendas not only curbed student opportunities to do higher-order thinking, but negated opportunities for teachers to model higher-order thinking.

What is the basis for many teachers' low expectations of students? Some teachers assumed that students lack the inherent mental capacity to engage in higher-order thinking, especially students labeled low achievers or low ability. One teacher stated:

> Given the constraints that are inherent in teaching lower ability students I am satisfied with the materials, content, skills, and teaching techniques that I use...I think it is unrealistic for anyone to expect consistent higher order thinking from these students...These students usually think and operate on a very concrete level...basically I would need to teach Advanced Placement students.

Keating's (1988) review of the research literature on adolescent thinking uncovered no support, however, for the argument that students lack the cognitive capacity to successfully engage in higher-order thinking. Because higher order thinking is a relative rather than an absolute concept, all students regardless of cognitive capacity can, in theory, be given a problem or task that involves them in higher-order thinking.

For some teachers the "problem" is not to be found in students' inherent mental capacity, but rather in students' underdeveloped cognitive skills due to deficiencies in students' prior educational experiences. A teacher expressed this perspective in the following way:

> They [students] are not used to thinking—they have not been required to think...I don't know what they are doing [in the lower grades] but my guess is that everybody gets an award and everybody gets patted on the back, and I'm not sure if people are really checking development along the way...so there is a point beyond which their reasoning skills are going to stop.

When students are perceived to lack thinking skills, many teachers are less likely to craft lessons that require higher-order thinking. Note, however, that teachers who avoid instruction for thinking and hold this perception of students are admitting (tacitly or overtly) that they are unable or unwilling to help students reduce this skill deficit.

Other teachers cited deficits in students' knowledge as the reason for their poor performance on thinking tasks. This perception often led to extensive and at times tedious presentation of "the facts" before students were allowed to think about the material. One teacher stated:

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> I'm dealing with Level 2 students...You've got to build up information first, and that takes such a long period of time.

One of the finest teachers of thinking in our sample expressed disgust at this approach:

> Low level kids spend years on recall because "they still don't know enough"—BS!...All learning and thinking should begin with high level questions...When students are actively pursuing whole, meaningful tasks, they will naturally use all the skills in Bloom's taxonomy....

A number of teachers expressed frustration with students' low motivation (if not outright resistance) to entertaining thinking tasks. Over one-half of those in the sample (56 percent) claimed that student resistance had a fairly or extremely negative influence on the teachers' ability to promote students' thinking. Two teachers in our sample offered these observations:

> Students have changed over the years. They are just not willing to put much effort into school. Their attention span is short and they are apathetic. If they were taught to think in the elementary grades there is no transfer to high school.

> What is most disappointing is that the students aren't interested in learning. Most of them care nothing for learning...They are just not willing to put much effort into school. Their attention span is short and they are apathetic...High achievers can be just as apathetic as low achievers.

Shaver et al., (1979) noted that "teachers generally do not make the possible connection between the lack of motivation on their students' part and their own reliance on textbook/content based, teacher dominated instruction" (p. 152).

Teachers' low student expectations are also a consequence of content coverage. In a coverage curriculum, students are rarely afforded opportunities to display thoughtful orientations to subject matter, and that can lead to a deteriorating cycle. Students become frustrated and bored with the memorization of content. Student performance falters and the teacher assumes deficient student mental capacity, skill, background knowledge or effort to engage in thinking. Having concluded that students cannot or will not think, greater emphasis is given to tasks requiring only lower order thinking. The combination of coverage and lower order thinking tasks further disengages students academically; and so on.

Rather than give up on students with less than stellar records of performance, outstanding teachers of thinking accept the challenge (Onosko, 1991). These teachers support, encourage and prod students to discover their intellect. One outstanding teacher explained that she does not accept "I don't know" responses from students:

> I let them know at the beginning of the year that an "I don't know" answer is completely unacceptable, that I will not go away until they get it right...after a few successes they want to be called on.

Another outstanding teacher offered the following perspective:

> Most students like to think, in all levels. They resist more in writing than orally. Many have been trained to regurgitate history and they need to be retrained, so there may be initial resistance, but it can be overcome through teaching. Resisters will moan and groan as you push them, but eventually they'll thank you for it...I roll with the students who are thinking. It does become contagious...It's really up to the teacher to make thinking a pleasurable experience.

Large Numbers of Students

Large numbers of students per class (class size) and large numbers of students overall (total student load) inhibit the promotion of thinking (Cuban, 1984b; Cuban, 1991; O'Reilly, 1991; Shaver, 1980). Large class size engenders real and imagined classroom management fears on the part of teachers, especially when leading whole group discussions. Students often display frustration when having to wait their turn to speak. Teachers are afraid to undertake an extended probe of a student's idea for fear of "losing the rest of the class." Lengthy responses by single students can also lead their classmates to "turn-out" and exhibit off-task behavior. Teachers also curb time for silent reflection out of fear that "brushfires" of off-task behavior will ignite during these moments of silence. It is not surprising that 73 percent of teachers identified large class size as either fairly or extremely detrimental to the promotion of thinking. When teachers were asked to identify the three most critical barriers to instruction for thinking, class size was the third most frequently cited barrier (41 percent).

The difficult task of monitoring numerous small group discussions in classes of 25-35 students or more triggers similar management concerns. Large numbers of students can reduce the quality of and frequency with which some teachers are willing to hold discussions, whether teacher-directed large group or student-centered small group. Large class size thus helps to reinforce knowledge transmission forms of instruction, as the teacher can more readily control the classroom environment by disseminating information to students. One teacher communicated these concerns:

> When class size goes over a certain amount, you lose the ability to promote thinking. You feel frustrated. The demand is there to be more authoritarian...Smaller classes, even with students of diverse ability, allows teachers to use different techniques and methods. Control is less of an issue.

Smaller class size is especially important for teachers who want thoughtful classrooms, because tasks that involve students in higher-order thinking can create unique management problems. Research indicates that management concerns increase as the cognitive demands placed on students increase (Doyle, 1983). Higher-order thinking tasks place students at greater risk of failure and at higher levels of frustration, because these tasks require students to construct solutions rather than routinely or algorithmically apply information. The potential for off-task behavior increases, as does the likelihood that students will attempt to reduce the difficulty of the task through negotiation with the teacher (McNeil, 1983). As one teacher explained:

> Most students like to be in a "comfort zone" that requires few risks and assignments that are not difficult. I suspect students always have. Thinking about concepts, alternatives, situations, etc. provides too many opportunities involving risk. They are less comfortable when they don't know what I am going to ask, and when I ask them to defend what they say, or find fault with something I say. You lose the opportunity to blend in with the crowd. What if I'm wrong, what if everybody laughs at me, what if they think my ideas are weird? It's a tremendous risk.

Student resistance to tasks involving higher-order thinking can be checked if teachers assume the role of a coach, providing encouragement, support, and constructive feedback to individual students to insure continued and confident effort. Relatedly, the construction of an intimate, nurturing environment in which students feel safe to share their ideas and beliefs also reduces the likelihood of resistance. Creating a safe learning environment and acting as a coach are more difficult to accomplish when working with large numbers of students.

The classroom practices of outstanding teachers in our sample demonstrate that with great effort higher-order thinking can take place with large numbers of students (Onosko, 1990). By establishing certain behavioral expectations, constructing a nurturing learning environment, carefully planning the degree and type of cognitive challenge, and employing a variety of questioning techniques and motivational strategies, outstanding teachers of thinking are able to jump-start the mental engines of large numbers of students.

Large total student load can also negatively affect the quality and frequency of teachers' efforts to promote students' thinking, especially in the area of written discourse. This is unfortunate as written expression makes "logical implications of statements more detectable" and, overall, serves as "a powerful intellectual tool" (Olson, 1977). Teachers need time to respond to students' writings. If a teacher with a total student load of 125 was to assign a two-page essay every week, and only 15 minutes were allocated for reading and reacting to each essay, the teacher would be faced with over 31 additional hours of work per week. This may explain why 66 percent of teachers identified total student load as a fairly or extremely detrimental barrier to thinking, and why total load was the fifth most frequently mentioned barrier overall (Table 1). This may also explain why written work, other than class notes and worksheet responses, was rarely observed across the entire sample of teachers' lessons (Newmann, 1990b). One teacher expressed frustration with student load this way:

> I have 186 students. How can you teach that many? I'm tired at the end of the day. It takes forever to grade papers and I'm not willing to go home and spend 4 hours a night grading papers. I'm here at 7:45 until 4:45. I do have a wife and other things to do. You wind up giving a lot of objective tests and you can't give immediate feedback.

The problems identified here with respect to class size and student load underscore the need to inform policy makers and community members of the importance of reducing these numbers if more teachers are to develop good student-thinkers. While outstanding teachers of thinking are able to overcome problems associated with large class size, without a reduction in total student load it is unlikely that even the best teachers will devise ways to consistently react to students' written expressions of higher-order thinking.

Lack of Teacher Planning Time

Another organizational barrier to instruction for higher-order thinking is minimal planning time allotted teachers (Cuban, 1984a; Cuban, 1991; Gross, 1989). In traditionally organized schools, one 45-minute time block is typically allocated for teacher planning. In that single period teachers of thinking face an awesome task. Due to the inadequacies of textbooks, teachers must venture to the library to find, read, and then modify and photocopy reading materials for upcoming lessons. They must also review or acquire initial understanding of the ideas and issues to be discussed in each course (usually two to three different course preparations each day), and then apply their pedagogical knowledge to the content of each course to draft lessons that promote higher-order thinking. At the same time, they must begin to map out the direction of upcoming units. Very little of the above can be accomplished during this brief time block.

Under these time constraints many teachers must settle for the textbook's presentation of the material. The text rarely offers the same degree of challenge as supplemental sources, sources which often contain competing perspectives and more sustained arguments. In addition, the limited time for teachers to familiarize themselves with topics reduces their ability and desire to lead discussions and to offer students tasks that challenge their thinking. Lack of planning time drives many teachers to the safety of instruction by transmission, where simplistic understanding is emphasized and the teachers' underdeveloped content understanding is more easily masked. The low-level cognitive demands characteristic of these classroom sessions offers students fewer opportunities to develop and share their thinking and reasoning.

Not surprisingly, lack of planning time was most frequently identified by teachers (48 percent) as one of the worst barriers to their efforts to promote students' thinking (Table 1). On another questionnaire item that explicitly targeted the barrier of planning time, 73 percent of the teachers identified lack of planning time as either "fairly" or "extremely detrimental" to the promotion of students' thinking. The following thoughts on planning time were offered by two teachers:

> I believe that if I had the time...I could develop some ideas that would make my teaching for thinking much more effective. I think there are suitable materials available—you just need the time to locate them and adapt them to your needs.
>
> Sometimes I feel like a composer who cannot put the notes on paper quick enough. Often I am too tired to put them down on paper. Mostly I am frustrated by time and the demands placed on me...time needs to be set aside for reevaluating goals, objectives, and options for world history....We need one more preparation period per day so I can work with other teachers.

In a study of 25 staff developers working to help teachers improve their instruction for thinking, more staff developers (68 percent) identified insufficient planning time as a barrier to improved practice in the area of thinking than any other barrier (Newmann, Onosko, and Stevenson, 1990). Limited planning time not only affected the planning efforts of teachers individually, but made the exchange of ideas and practices between colleagues very difficult. The fact that department members often did not share the same planning period during the day further undermined opportunities for collaborative unit and lesson planning, and eliminated chances for peer observation. As a result, to work collaboratively teachers had to meet before or after school, and the school administration had to be willing to provide substitute teachers or devise some other support system to enable teachers to leave their classes to observe the instruction of colleagues.

Without additional planning time, it is unlikely that most teachers can sustain the necessary time commitment outside of school to consistently construct lessons that challenge students' thinking and to react to students' written expressions of thought.

A Culture of Teacher Isolation

The last major barrier is the culture of isolation common to many departments and schools (Bullough, 1987; Little, 1990; Sarason, 1982). Teachers spend their day with students, not fellow teachers. Teachers operate in isolation from one another, much like separate galaxies in a vast university of instruction. This isolation severely limits their access to the curricular and instructional ideas of colleagues, and shields them from both constructive criticism of and recognition for their instructional practice. Opportunities are not available to discuss with colleagues broad department goals, course goals, general instructional techniques related to thinking, and specific ideas and issues regarding subject matter and strategies to address this content with students. All too often outstanding teaching techniques and superb lesson and unit ideas, while only a classroom wall or partition away, are not shared among colleagues. Such a culture does not encourage or promote collective action even though teachers frequently face very similar instructional concerns. Some members are able to develop into outstanding teachers in this environment but most cannot. Comments from two teachers provide poignant examples of teacher isolation in school culture:

> I learned much from my colleagues by accident when, because of the district K-12 planning exercise I had to get our department members to write out their central objectives. When I read all this I was really proud. Here we've been teaching for 20 years and have never really shared these main ideas behind our teaching. We've taught in the same building, but really don't know what one another is doing.

> There are two people I look to for sharing ideas...Many other teachers in the department probably support higher order thinking, but because there is so little sharing, I never get the benefit of it.

Forty-eight percent of teachers in the study spent less than one hour per week with colleagues discussing educational concerns of any kind. The sharing of an instructional technique occurred less than once every two weeks for 43 percent of the teachers, and an even greater number (52 percent) shared curriculum materials less than once over this same time span.

Immersion in a culture of isolation can lead some teachers to withhold from colleagues their "hard earned" instructional ideas. Isolation fuels an atmosphere of individualism, noncommunication, and at times competition. One department chair referred to teacher behavior of this kind as "the lone ranger syndrome." A culture of isolation also contributes to the development of indiscriminate, uncritical attitudes toward instruction; that is, a norm that teachers should show respect for the practices of their colleagues regardless of their colleagues' classroom effectiveness. The implicit rule is, "you don't bother me, I won't bother you." Little (1990) attributes this orientation to the "norms of privacy and non-interference." Department-wide efforts to improve methods of instruction for higher-order thinking are unlikely to occur when norms such as these are accepted and operating.

Select departments in our study, due in large part to principal and departmental leadership (King, this volume), have with some success attached this problem and have created a culture of communication rather than isolation. Teachers moved from the presumed safety of isolation, to the professional practice of discussing broad departmental goals and assumptions, to discussing unit and lesson content, to sharing (and debating) instructional strategies, to, finally, observing and discussing actual lessons through peer review. This communication, involving increasing levels of collaboration, scrutiny and personal risk, provided opportunities for teachers to receive recognition for and confirmation of their teaching. It provided opportunities for teachers to see alternative approaches to instruction and to debate which instructional format or sequence of activities would most effectively engage and challenge students' thinking. In such departments, a collective vision, identity and knowledge base emerged, all focused around the goal of promoting students' thinking.

Conclusion

Though presented as separate and identifiable, these barriers are interconnected. Large total student load and large class size limit opportunities for thoughtful interaction between teachers and students, which, in turn, contributes to low student expectations on the part of teachers. Instruction by transmission tends to foster a curriculum of coverage, and in reciprocal fashion, the demands of content coverage necessitate instruction by lecture (transmission) to ensure that everything gets covered. Little planning time for teachers to exchange ideas with colleagues helps to ensure the continuation of a culture of isolation and traditional methods of instruction. Many additional linkages between the barriers could be identified.

Because these barriers are connected, it would appear that reformers interested in placing greater emphasis on the promotion of student thinking need to consider all of the barriers in a comprehensive plan of action. Barriers that are ignored may significantly reduce the effectiveness of the reform effort. For example, through a reform effort teachers may come to develop elaborate conceptions of thinking and hold high expectations for students. Yet the effect on classroom practice with respect to thinking may be modest at best if teachers continue to cherish content coverage or are given minimal planning time to change curricular and instructional practices. Likewise, breaking down teacher isolation and reducing student load may have limited impact on instruction for higher-order thinking if teachers maintain low expectations of students or continue to regard teaching as the transmission of information and ideas.

If, indeed, the barriers are interconnected and all need to be addressed to achieve significant and sustained improvement in the promotion of students' thinking, then it may be an academic exercise to determine which of the barriers are most detrimental. Likewise, linkage among the various barriers suggests that there is no logical or necessary sequence with which to attack the barriers. Some departments and schools may want to begin their change effort by having teachers conceptualize thinking, others may want to address the issue of content coverage, while others may tackle the problem of instruction by transmission and teachers' low expectations of students. Further study is needed to determine (a) the extent to which barriers are inextricably linked, (b) if the barriers are equally detrimental, and (c) whether or not a specific sequence of attack is advantageous.

Due to the instability and uncertainty in the process of school change, we can assume that successful interventions will experience some "backsliding" and will therefore need to return to barriers already addressed. The struggle to ensure that students are challenged to think will be a never ending process.

Endnotes

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Hahn, Bruce King, James Ladwig, Cameron McCarthy, Fred Newmann, Francis Schrage, James Shaver, Robert Stevenson, and the cooperative staff and students in sixteen high schools.

2. As quoted in Hoetker and Ahlbrand (1969), p. 153.

3. As quoted in Hoetker and Ahlbrand (1969), p. 159.

4. Broader, societal barriers that negatively effect student motivation and achievement such as various forms of family dislocation, anti-intellectualism in mainstream culture, and poverty and unemployment, to name a few, will not be addressed in this paper. Clearly, these barriers also need to be addressed to maximize students' higher order thinking.

5. Details of the methodology used in the study can be found in Newmann, Onosko, and Stevenson (1990).

6. The distiaction suggested here between student exposure to products of thought versus student production of thought is not intended to minimize the importance of content, nor should the distinction be viewed as a variant of the enduring but misguided "content vs process" debate. As stated previously, higher-order thinking requires both in-depth knowledge and cognitive skills (and dispositions related to thoughtfulness). In addition, exposing students to products of thought and other forms of direct instruction are not anathema to the thoughtful classroom. Often it is necessary for teachers to provide information and explain ideas to students before students can solve a problem or take a position on an issue.

7. Due to missing data the actual number of respondents was 48.

8. The work of Weaver, Jantz, Farrell and Cirrincione (1985) supports these findings and uncovers additional reasons why teachers do not more regularly employ inquiry-based instructional approaches. The primary reasons identified by a sample of 202 teachers include the following: teacher training programs failed to prepare teachers to use inquiry, college methods instructors emphasized theoretical rather than practical aspects of the inquiry approach, students had difficulty with inquiry, and teachers prefer the structured organization of textbooks to the conceptual organization common to inquiry.

9. Based upon our research in one New York school, the state's Regent Exam places substantial coverage pressure on teachers' instructional efforts. At this particular school, teachers were held accountable for student success and failure even though students' prior social studies experience strongly influenced test results. Due to this accountability, laborious cram sessions replaced normal instruction for approximately two months prior to the exam.

10. The work of Tyson-Bernstein (1988) indicates that fragmented, fact-filled textbooks common to today's publishing market result from publishers' efforts to comply with the balkanized guidelines devised by most state and district curriculum committees. This suggests that even though teachers are more likely to cite textbooks as a source of coverage pressure, curriculum guidelines may underlie the textbook problem.

11. These findings were based on a 10 teacher subset of the full sample. Work is presently underway to test these findings on the full sample.

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Practices That Support Teacher Development: Transforming Conceptions of Professional Learning*

by Ann Lieberman

The current effort to reform the nation's schools seeks to develop not only new (or reframed) conceptions of teaching, learning, and schooling, but also a wide variety of practices that support teacher learning. These practices run counter to some deeply held notions about staff development and inservice education that have long influenced educators' and the public's views of teachers.

Although sophistication about the process of restructuring schools and the problems of changing school cultures is growing, it is still widely accepted that staff learning takes place primarily at a series of workshops, at a conference, or with the help of a long-term consultant.[1] What everyone appears to want for students—a wide array of learning opportunities that engage students in experiencing, creating, and solving real problems, using their own experiences, and working with others—is for some reason denied to teachers when they are the learners. In the traditional view of staff development, workshops and conferences conducted outside the school count, but authentic opportunities to learn from and with colleagues *inside* the school do not.

The conventional view of staff development as a transferable package of knowledge to be distributed to teachers in bite-sized pieces needs radical rethinking. It implies a limited conception of teacher learning that is out of step with current research and practice.[2]

Learning from History: Questioning Assumptions

In 1957 the National Society for the Study of Education published *Inservice Education for Teachers, Supervisors, and Administrators*.[3] The book was important not only because it was comprehensive, but also because it challenged the narrow assumptions about inservice education that had been dominant during the early 20th century. It proposed that schools and entire staffs should become collaborators in providing inservice education. This view was suggested by the growing knowledge of group dynamics that linked larger ideas of change to school problems.[4] Because the status of teachers was rising at the time, the idea that teachers should share the work of their own professional improvement gained credibility in education circles.

The two conflicting assumptions about the best way for teachers to learn—either through direct instruction by outsiders or through their own involvement in defining and shaping the problems of practice—stem from deep-rooted philosophical notions about learning, competence, and trust, and these issues are again at the heart of discussions of professional development today.[5]

Teachers have been told often enough (or it has been taken for granted) that other people's understandings of teaching and learning are more important than their own and that their knowledge—gained from the dailiness of work with students—is of far less value. Outside experts have often viewed teaching as technical, learning as packaged, and teachers as passive recipients of the findings of "objective research."

Because the contemporary school reform movement is concerned with such fundamental issues of schooling as conceptions of knowledge building and teacher learning, today's approach to professional development goes far beyond the technical tinkering that has often characterized inservice training.[6] The process of restructuring schools places demands on the whole organization that make it imperative that individuals redefine *their* work in relation to the way the entire school works.

Transforming schools into learning organizations, in which people work together to solve problems collectively, is more than a question of

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inserting a new curriculum or a new program. It also involves thinking through how the content and processes of learning can be redefined in ways that engage students and teachers in the active pursuit of learning goals; it involves a joining of experiential learning and content knowledge. Teaching as telling, the model that has dominated pedagogy and the consequent organization of schooling to date, is being called into question as professional learning for teachers increasingly connects to this reconsidered view of schools.

The way teachers learn may be more like the way students learn than we have previously recognized. Learning theorists and organizational theorists are teaching us that people learn best through active involvement and through thinking about and becoming articulate about what they have learned.[7] Processes, practices, and policies that are built on this view of learning are at the heart of a more expanded view of teacher development that encourages teachers to involve themselves as learners—in much the same ways as they wish their students would. But what does this actually look like in the pedagogical practice of schools? How can we understand the connections between teacher development and school development?

Learning by Changing: Teacher and School Development

This expanded view of professional learning is, of necessity, both personal and professional, both individual and collective, both inquiry-based and technical.[8] While no definitive road maps exist that will lead us directly to our goal, we do have a growing body of evidence from some schools that have discovered the power of professional development when it is viewed as an integral part of the life of the school. By studying these schools we can deepen our understanding of how teachers acquire the experience that encourages them to grow and change in the context of school reform.[9]

For example, some organizational and pedagogical changes in these schools (e.g., common planning periods) put new and experienced teachers together to learn from one another, to make connections across subject areas, to use staff expertise to provide leadership for "in-house" workshops or meetings, to form self-contained teams in which the organizational structure (a team) encourages constant staff learning, or to develop curricular changes that encourage interdisciplinary studies for short periods of time.[10]

Numerous curricular, pedagogical, and assessment approaches to student learning also provide powerful professional learning for teachers, involving them in rethinking their role with students, even as they work to expand the way students interact with content and the problems of learning. Many instances of professional learning begin with meetings about subject-matter content, pedagogical approaches, new means of assessment, or simply discussions about learning. What makes the difference for teachers is that the content of the curriculum, the context of each classroom within the school, and the broader context of the school itself all consider teacher participation to be central to any changes in the functioning of the school.

From Direct Teaching to Learning in School

Most of the inservice training or staff development that teachers are now exposed to is of a formal nature. Unconnected to classroom life, it is often a mélange of abstract ideas that pays little attention to the ongoing support of continuous learning and changed practices.

By contrast, the conception of teacher development that yokes student-centered pedagogy and opportunities for teacher learning, supported by favorable and durable organizational conditions, is now being tried in many locales.[11] By constructing a continuum of the actual practices that encourage teacher growth, we see that such a continuum moves from "direct teaching" (the dominant mode of inservice training) to practices that involve "learning in school" to a variety of kinds of "learning out of school." The change from "teaching" to "learning" is significant because it implies that teacher development opportunities must become integral to the restructuring of schools. This will necessarily involve strategies and mechanisms that are more long-range, that are more concerned with interactions among teachers, and that are often unique to a particular context.

This broader approach moves teachers beyond simply hearing about new ideas or about frameworks for understanding teaching practice to being actively involved in decisions about the substance, the process, and the organizational supports for learning in school—and thence to locating broader support mechanisms, such as networks or partnerships, that provide opportunities for learning and innovation that involve groups outside the school.

Because "direct teaching" currently dominates much of what the public and many districts consider to be staff development, it is important that teachers, administrators, and policy makers become aware of new and broader conceptions of professional development. At present school districts have as many as seven days of inservice education scheduled during the school year. On these days teachers are introduced to new ideas (e.g., new math standards, new forms of assessment). Some districts run workshops dealing with specific themes or particular subjects, often hiring consultants to help with the "implementation" of these ideas in the schools. Although learning about new ideas that affect both the content and the processes of teaching is important, ideas that are unrelated to the organization and context of one's own classroom have a hard time competing with the dailiness of work—even when teachers are excited about and committed to them.

If reform plans are to be made operational—thus enabling teachers to really change the way they work—then teachers must have opportunities to discuss, think about, try out, and hone new practices. This means that they must-be involved in learning about, developing, and using new ideas with their students. They can do this in a number of ways:

- by building new roles (e.g., teacher leader, peer coach, teacher researcher);[12]
- by creating new structures (e.g., problem-solving groups, decision-making teams);
- by working on new tasks (e.g., journal and proposal writing, learning about assessment, creating standards, analyzing or writing case studies of practice);[13] and
- by creating a culture of inquiry, wherein professional learning is expected, sought after, and an ongoing part of teaching that school life.[14]

What characterizes these examples of professional learning is that their lifespan is not one or two days. Instead, they become part of the expectations for teachers' roles and form an integral part of the culture of a school. Learning and development become as varied and engaging for teachers as they are supposed to be for students. Drawing on experience and helping to produce new knowledge become as compelling as consuming preexisting knowledge. In fact, one process feeds the other. Being involved as a learner and a participant provides openings to new knowledge and broadens the agenda for thought and action. In important ways, such activities link individual professional learning to collegial and communal learning.

Several examples will help illustrate the kinds of connections that are possible between teacher learning and the mechanisms to support these "in-school" efforts.

Learning by Observing Children

The Primary Language Record (PLR), a guide for collecting evidence to aid teachers' understanding of how students become literate in the primary grades, encourages teachers to observe students' habits and choices as they are involved in learning tasks. As part of this process, teachers interview parents and students concerning students' study habits and interests both at home and in school. The PLR provides teachers with greater breadth of information about their students and helps teachers become aware of and plan for student differences in learning styles. Most important, by observing children closely (with the help of a guide), teachers see that students learn differently, think differently, and engage with their fellow students in a variety of ways.

The PLR does not tell teachers what to do, but it does expand their understandings of what is possible. By focusing attention on student strengths, the "record" enables teachers to make better use of their own professional judgment to build more effective teaching programs. Networks of teachers from New York to California use this tool to support one another in their efforts to integrate knowledge of child development with observations of their students.[15]

Adopting New Approaches to Subject Matter

Some innovative approaches to subject-matter teaching have involved teachers in pedagogical as well as curricular changes. These include the process approach to writing, which engages teachers in writing, revising, and polishing their own work; whole-language approaches to integrating language arts that involve teachers and students in planning blocks of time for students to read, write, listen, and speak; and the Foxfire approach, which encourages teachers to use students' interests and choices to involve them in planning and carrying out their own learning—gaining skills and knowledge as they seek information, write, edit, and produce work in a variety of subject areas. These new pedagogical approaches encourage teachers to be learners and to experience for themselves the struggle for personal and intellectual growth that is an essential part of learning. Teachers who use these approaches become sensitized to the nuances of learning and to the needs of individuals and groups.

These approaches to student learning do not downgrade the learning of basic knowledge; rather, they use the interests and abilities of students and teachers to invigorate such learning. Instead of requiring students simply to memorize facts from lectures or textbooks, these approaches involve teachers and their students in identifying and posing problems and in seeking perspectives and methodologies to help find answers. Inevitably this means increasing students' content knowledge, because solutions to problems depend on such knowledge and on the skills and analytical tools developed in the problem-solving process.

Using Strategies for Learning Together

The "descriptive review" process brings teachers together in a group to talk about particular students whom individual teachers find difficult to reach. In the process of understanding these difficulties, a teacher will tell what he or she knows about the child, while the other teachers suggest strategies that they have found successful in similar situations. In the process, teachers share their knowledge, learn from one another, and—by extension—take responsibility for the growth and development of all children in the school.[16]

Learning by Integrating Assessment and Curriculum

Through their involvement in new patterns of student assessment, teachers organize the curriculum in ways that reflect their rethinking of what students should know and what they should be able to do in order to demonstrate the breadth and depth of their learning. Portfolios—collections of a student's work that demonstrate knowledge and skills—embrace diverse forms of expression, including science and social science research reports, constructions, multimedia presentations, original works of art, and dramatic presentations.

An important example of this integrative process is the approach taken at the Central Park East Secondary School (CPESS), where "habits of mind" are linked with portfolio assessment.[17] "Habits of mind" are defined as a set of five principles that involve examining evidence critically, looking at multiple viewpoints, making connections, seeking alternatives, and looking for meaning. These principles serve as a foundation on which to build a pedagogy that teaches students to use their minds well so that they can live socially useful and personally satisfying lives. The principles form the basis for ongoing discussions about breadth versus depth, and they serve to guide the development of the kinds of courses and educational experiences that will achieve these ideals. The assessment process uses portfolios as a means to involve teachers as "coaches" who serve as critics and supporters of student work, who guide students toward the completion of graduation requirements, and who help them build "habits of mind" that will last beyond graduation.

The organic relationship between portfolios and "habits of mind" forms the basis for learning for teachers as well as for students. At CPESS, faculty members are continually reflecting on and redefining the boundaries of core subjects; portfolio content and measures of competence; what it means to be a coach, advisor, and supporter of student work; students' responsibilities for creating, revising, and completing academic work; and the kind of social responsibility for learning that is shared by teachers, students, and families. Although this is a particularly ambitious example, it shows how a change in the method of assessment can affect teacher learning and development in important ways.

Learning Outside of School

Although so far I have been dealing with professional learning for teachers that takes place inside the school, there is growing evidence that important and potentially powerful organizational arrangements exist outside the school as well. These networks, collaboratives, coalitions, and partnerships offer teachers professional development opportunities that differ in quality and kind from those that have been available inside the school or in traditional professional development programs.[18]

Unlike most professional development strategies with their "one size fits all" orientation, networks, coalitions, and partnerships provide opportunities for teachers to commit themselves to topics that are of intrinsic interest to them or that develop out of their work.[19] By joining informal groups, teachers can develop stronger voices to represent their perspectives, learn to exercise leadership with their peers, use their firsthand experience to create new possibilities for students through collaborative work, and develop a community of shared understanding that enriches their teaching and provides intellectual and emotional stimulation.[20] These important opportunities for teacher development exist more readily in environments that provide a level of flexibility and collaborative work not usually possible in existing organizations.

The following examples offer a sampling of the variety of contexts, content, and collaborative arrangements possible when teachers are "learning outside of school."

The Southern Maine Partnership

Much can be learned from looking at this nine-year-old school/university partnership between the University of Southern Maine and a group of school districts. The partnership has deep roots in both the schools and the university.

Initially, the partnership brought teachers togther at monthly meetings to discuss research and educational practice. The partnership justified its claim on teachers' time by serving as a neutral forum in which teachers learned, asked questions, and talked about their teaching practices and problems in a safe and nonjudgmental environment.[21] The impetus for organizing these initial dialogues came from a university professor who believed that both the schools and the university should collectively shape the agenda of the partnership.[22] Eventually, teachers noted that what they believed and valued and what they practiced were not always in sync. As the partnership grew, it also helped to establish a core of committed teachers (as well as superintendents and principals) who were energized by the discussions, by the participants' seriousness of purpose, and by the growing egalitarianism that permeated the group.

Both the substance and the spirit of the partnership were brought back by the participants to their home schools to serve as catalysts for staff learning. The partnership has gone through several different phases, moving from discussions, to reflections on the discussions, to serious work by its members in restructuring schools, to making major changes in the teacher education programs through the creation of professional development schools.[23] Discussions, conversations, consultancies, networking on particular topics, and teacher-led conferences have all developed and changed over time. This progression indicates that a major strength of the partnership is its recognition that it must keep changing the kinds of forums it creates to match the growing and deepening needs of its constituents.

The Foxfire Teacher Outreach Network

While the Southern Maine Partnership began as a consciously created partnership between schools and a university, the Foxfire Teacher Outreach Network grew out of a teacher's discovery that, in order to interest students in learning in his English class, he had to involve them in areas of their own interest and choice. The dramatic story of how this happened has been recorded elsewhere.[24] What concerns us here, however, is how one teacher's struggle was transformed into a strategy for the creation of teacher networks to provide professional learning beyond the boundaries of one classroom, one school, or one locale.

Initially, teachers were invited to a "teacher outreach" program, where they participated in classes during the summer. Because they were teachers themselves, the original Foxfire group modeled the techniques that teachers might try with their students during the school year: from encouraging students to choose their own topics to research and to write about to involving them in identifying their own learning needs, with teachers serving as guides. Understanding that meaningful learning needed to be supported over time, they started networks in a few places where there were growing relationships within groups of teachers. Meeting throughout the school year, these teacher groups became a formal part of the Foxfire Teacher Outreach network, which has grown from five individual teacher groups to 20. These groups now exist across the country, and they continue to be centers for professional learning created by teachers, for teachers.[25]

The Four Seasons Network

This network was organized by the National Center for restructuring Education, Schools, and Teaching (NCREST) to bring together teachers from three reform networks: the Coalition of Essential Schools, the Foxfire Network, and Harvard University's Project Zero. The purpose of the four Seasons Network was to support and encourage teacher participation and leadership in the area of assessment. It brings teachers together to learn about authentic assessment by learning from experts, by learning from one another, and by creating new modes of assessment in their own classrooms and schools.

Initially, teachers from 10 different states were brought together during two summer workshops, while year-round support was provided through the use of an electronic network. This electronic network enabled teachers to share current stories of practice, discuss their struggles related to the creation of portfolios and exhibitions of student work, and give each other support and encouragement for taking risks.[26] Since issues of assessment are crucial to all teaching and learning, the Four Seasons Network, by involving teachers from previously existing networks, has helped them all to expand the breadth of their reform work.

These three collaborative efforts are examples of the kinds of networks and partnerships created to deal with complex educational problems that defy simplistic solutions and pat answers. By bringing groups of teachers together—whether to work on particular subject areas, to articulate principles for reforming schools, to acquire new pedagogical techniques, or to change teacher education programs in schools and universities—these networks provide access to new ideas and a supportive community in which to begin translating these ideas into meaningful action in schools and classrooms. In the process, teachers have helped to build an agenda that is sensitive to their contexts and concerns, they have had opportunities to be leaders as well as learners, and they have been able to commit themselves to goals that are broader and more inclusive than their initial concerns.

Breaking the Mold

My concerns here have been the limitations of traditional approaches to teacher development and the new kinds of learning that are informing the field. These ideas could be summarized as follows.

- Teachers' professional development has been limited by lack of knowledge about how teachers learn.
- Teachers' definitions of the problems of practice have often been ignored.
- The agenda for reform involves teachers in practices that have not been part of the accepted view of teachers' professional learning.
- Teaching has been described as a set of technical skills, leaving little room for invention and the building of craft knowledge.
- Professional development opportunities have often ignored the critical importance of the context within which teachers work.
- Strategies for change have often not considered the importance of support mechanisms and the necessity of learning over time.
- Time and the necessary mechanisms for inventing, as well as consuming, new knowledge have often been absent from schools.
- The move from "direct teaching" to facilitating "in-school learning" is connected to longer-term strategies aimed not only at changing teaching practices, but at changing the school culture as well.

- Networks, collaboratives, and partnerships provide teachers with professional learning communities that support changes in teaching practices.

As opportunities increase for professional learning that moves away from the traditional inservice training mode and toward long-term, continuous learning in the context of school and classroom and with the support of colleagues, the idea of professional development takes on even greater importance. For if teacher learning takes place within the context of a professional community that is nurtured and developed both within and outside the school, then the effects may be more than just an expanded conception of teacher development. Indeed, such teacher learning can bring about significant and lasting school change.

Notes

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The Evolution of Peer Coaching*

by Beverly Showers, Educational Consultant,
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Fifteen years have passed since we first proposed peer coaching as an on-site dimension of staff development (Joyce and Showers 1980). In the 1970s, evaluations of staff development that focused on teaching strategies and curriculum revealed that as few as 10 percent of the participants implemented what they had learned. Rates of transfer were low even for those who had volunteered for the training. Well-researched curriculum and teaching models did not find their way into general practice and thus could not influence students' learning environments.

In a series of studies beginning in 1980, we tested hypotheses related to the proposition that regular (weekly) seminars would enable teachers to practice and implement the content they were learning. The seminars, or coaching sessions, focused on classroom implementation and the analysis of teaching, especially students' responses.

The results were consistent: Implementation rose dramatically, whether experts or participants conducted the sessions. Thus we recommended that teachers who were studying teaching and curriculum form small peer coaching groups that would share the learning process. In this way, staff development might directly affect student learning.

Our central concern has been helping students benefit when their teachers learn, grow, and change. In studying how teachers can create better learning environments for themselves (Joyce and Showers 1995), we noted with interest a serendipitous byproduct of the early peer coaching studies: Successful peer coaching teams developed skills in collaboration and enjoyed the experience so much that they wanted to continue their collegial partnerships after they accomplished their initial goals. Why not create permanent structures, we wondered, that would enable teachers to study teaching on a continuous basis?

In working with this broadened view of peer coaching as a mechanism to increase classroom implementation of training, we evolved our present practice of organizing entire faculties into peer coaching teams. We have been convinced throughout that peer coaching is neither an end in itself nor by itself a school improvement initiative. Rather, it must operate in a context of training, implementation, and general school improvement. There is no evidence that simply organizing peer coaching or peer study teams will affect students' learning environments. The study of teaching and curriculum must be the focus.

Here we examine the history of coaching, describe changes in the conduct of coaching, and make recommendations for its future, including its role as a component of staff development that drives organizational change.

History of Peer Coaching

Pre-1980

The processes of training and implementation have come under close scrutiny only in the last 25 years. Beginning in the mid-1950s, national movements to improve education focused on academic quality and social equality. By the early 1970s, educators recognized that many of those efforts, even when well-funded and approved by the public, seldom led to changes. The lack of research on how people learn teaching strategies and how schools successfully disseminate innovations contributed to our failures. Educators assumed that teachers could learn new strategies, return to a school, and implement their new learning smoothly and appropriately. The organization of the schools did not support the intensive training efforts that occurred in summer institutes or workshops during the year, however. Initial diagnoses attributed the failure to "flaws" in the motivation, effort, and attitudes of the teachers

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rather than to the state of the organization or the design of training.

1980-1987

We began to believe that changes in the school organization and in training design could solve implementation problems or ease them greatly, and that assigning the blame to teachers was erroneous. Our understanding of how people learn new behaviors and put them into practice has continuously evolved, as a result of work by colleagues in schools and universities and our own efforts with teachers and schools.

When we first advanced the notion of coaching, we had just completed an exhaustive review of literature on training and presented our findings as a set of hypotheses about types of training likely to produce results. The training components discussed in that early work grew from what we found in the literature: theory presentation, modeling or demonstration, practice, structured and open-ended feedback, and in-class assistance with transfer.

In 1980, we believed that "modeling, practice under simulated conditions, and practice in the classroom, combined with feedback" (Joyce and Showers 1980, p. 384) was the most productive training design. We hypothesized that teachers attempting to master new curriculum and teaching approaches would need continued technical assistance at the classroom level. For purposes of research, we distinguished between the initial development of a skill that would permit a teacher to experiment with new teaching strategies, and the classroom practice of that skill until it had become a part of the teacher's repertoire. At that time, training designs for skill development were much better developed than were designs for conditions that would lead to transfer.

In the early '80s, we formally investigated the hypothesis that coaching, following initial training, would result in much greater transfer than would training alone (Showers 1982, 1984). We confirmed this hypothesis. We assumed that the coach needed to have more expertise in the content area, and thus paired teachers with an outside consultant or an expert peer. The literature on supervisory practices and feedback influenced our thinking as we struggled to create the kind of structured feedback that appeared to facilitate skill development.

Results of our early studies showed that teachers who had a coaching relationship—that is, who shared aspects of teaching, planned together, and pooled their experiences—practiced new skills and strategies more frequently and applied them more appropriately than did their counterparts who worked alone to expand their repertoires. Members of peer-coaching groups exhibited greater long-term retention of new strategies and more appropriate use of new teaching models over time (Baker and Showers 1984).

Coaching helped nearly all the teachers implement new teaching strategies. Equally important, teachers introduced to the new models could coach one another, provided that the teachers continued to receive periodic follow-up in training settings. Thus we recommended that schools organize teachers into peer coaching teams and arrange school settings so that the teachers could work together to gain sufficient skill to affect student learning. We had moved from the '50s and '60s, where the probability of implementation was extremely low, to a very simple technology that virtually reversed the odds. The coaching process was added to the training paradigm, taking into account the two levels of skill development described above.

Current Practice

We conducted the early studies with individual teachers or small groups within a school. The next stage involved faculties that volunteered as a whole, which required collaborating with staffs to determine their students' most pressing needs, selecting appropriate content, helping them design training, and assessing the impact on students. Increasingly we have found that attention to the social organization is extremely important. We now ask entire faculties to decide whether they want the school site to work with us, and we discuss at length exactly how we might work together.

Principles of Peer Coaching

Numerous staff development practices are called "coaching." These include "technical coaching," "collegial coaching," "challenge coaching," "team coaching," "cognitive coaching," and uses of "peer coaching" (Garmston 1987) to refer to the traditional supervisory model of pre-conference/observation/post-conference. None of these should be confused with, or used for, evaluation of teachers.

Similar to our approach, technical coaching, team coaching, and peer coaching (as in peer clinical supervision) focus on innovations in curriculum and instruction (Kent 1985, Neubert and Bratton 1987, Rogers 1987), whereas collegial coaching and cognitive coaching aim more at improving existing practices (Garmston et al. 1993). All except team coaching differ from our practice in that their primary vehicle for improving or changing classroom instruction is verbal feedback.

Following are our principles of peer coaching.

1. When we work with entire faculties, *all teachers must agree to be members of peer coaching study teams.* Teams must collectively agree to (a) practice or use whatever change the faculty has decided to implement; (b) support one another in the change process, including sharing planning of instructional objectives and developing materials and lessons; and (c) collect data about the implementation process and the effects on students relative to the school's goals.

2. We have found it necessary and important to *omit verbal feedback as a coaching component.* The primary activity of peer coaching study teams is planning and developing curriculum and instruction in pursuit of shared goals. Especially when they are learning teaching strategies designed for higher-order outcomes, teachers need to think through their overarching goals, as well as the specific objectives leading to them. Collaborative planning is essential if teachers are to divide the labor of developing new lesson and unit sequences and use one another's products.

When teachers try to give one another feedback, collaborative activity tends to disintegrate. Peer coaches told us they found themselves slipping into "supervisory, evaluative comments" despite their intentions to avoid them. Teachers shared with us that they expect "first the good news, then the bad" because of their past experiences with clinical supervision, and admitted they often pressured their coaches to go beyond technical feedback and give them "the real scoop." To the extent that feedback was evaluative or was perceived as evaluative, it was not meeting our original intention.

Remarkably, omitting feedback in the coaching process has not depressed implementation or student growth (Joyce and Showers 1995), and the omission has greatly simplified the organization of peer coaching teams. In retrospect, it is not difficult to understand this finding. Learning to provide technical feedback required extensive training and time and was unnecessary after team members mastered new behaviors.

3. We have needed to redefine the meaning of "coach": *when pairs of teachers observe each other, the one teaching is the "coach," and the one observing is the "coached."* In this process, teachers who are observing do so in order to learn from their colleague. There is no discussion of the observation in the "technical feedback" sense that we used in our early studies. Generally, these observations are followed by brief conversations on the order of "Thanks for letting me watch you work. I picked up some good ideas on how to work with my students."

4. *The collaborative work of peer coaching teams is much broader than observations and conferences.* Many believe that the essence of the coaching transaction is to offer advice to teachers following observations. Not so. Rather, teachers learn from one another while planning instruction, developing support materials, watching one another work with students, and thinking together about the impact of their behavior on their students' learning.

Recommendations for Training Sessions

Continuing concerns drive our work: how best to help teachers teach students to build intellectual independence; reasoning and problem-solving capability; competence in handling the explosion of information and data; and, with the help of technology, the ability to navigate the information age. We believe that staff developers can assist educators by incorporating certain behaviors in their training sessions.

First, we can help schools and teams of teachers *redesign their work-places.* Rather than simply advocating that schools provide time for collaborative planning and problem-solving related to specific plans for change, we can provide time during training to address this problem. Reviewing Raywid's (1993) research on finding time for collaboration is one way to begin such a session.

Second, staff can *form peer coaching teams on the first day of training*. When entire school faculties train together, they have many options for forming teams, and staff developers can facilitate discussion of those options. Faculties can also try out various formats, comparing costs and benefits of alternative plans. A school attempting to develop an integrated curriculum as part of its improvement plan may want to experiment with cross-subject or cross-grade teams. Schools with a focus on multicultural curriculums may want to spread faculty expertise on various cultures among the teams. However a school forms its teams, it is useful for teachers to have immediate practice in working together toward shared goals.

Third, we can *provide examples of formats or structures for collaborative planning*. Many teachers have shared with us their difficulty in jointly performing an activity they have traditionally done alone. A structured walk-through of a planning activity can allow teams to respond to questions within specific time frames, practice thinking aloud about what each person wants to accomplish, and identify overlap with their colleagues' agendas. A sample sequence might include the following:

- Think about your year's "course." What are your big, overarching goals for your students?
- Now think about the first six weeks of school. What objectives will you need to accomplish if you are to meet your year's goals? How much time can you spend in review and still meet your objectives?
- What instructional strategies are most appropriate for the objectives you've set for the first six weeks? Are they consistent with your year-end goals?
- Given the overlap of objectives in your team, can you divide the labor and develop materials that others can use?

Fourth, peer coaching study teams need to plan how they will *monitor implementation* of new initiatives, and how they will *determine the impact of each initiative on their students*. When whole schools agree on a specific change agenda, study teams may want to address in small groups how they will discover whether their efforts are having the desired effects, then combine their ideas in a whole-school session. Measuring the impact of planned change is critical to any school improvement effort. The training setting is optimal for planning mini-studies that teams can conduct throughout the year for this purpose.

Coaching and School Improvement

Collaborative planning and data collection increase the time, and thus the cost, of staff development activities. To the extent that such activities result in greater clarity about means and ends, more thorough implementation of planned changes, and more immediate information about effects on students, the additional effort is well worth the investment.

Adding peer coaching study teams to school improvement efforts is a substantial departure from the way schools often embark on change efforts. On the surface, it appears simple to implement—what would be more natural than teams of professional teachers working on content and skills? It is a complex innovation only because it requires a radical change in relationships among teachers, and between teachers and administrative personnel.

When staff development becomes the major vehicle for school improvement, schools should take into account both the structures and content of training, as well as changes needed in the workplace to make possible the collaborative planning, decision making, and data collection that are essential to organizational change efforts. As we ponder ways to ensure that training/coaching fuels the school renewal process, we are also examining how the culture of the school can increasingly provide a benign environment for collective activity.

A cohesive school culture makes possible the collective decisions that generate schoolwide improvement efforts. The formation of peer coaching teams produces greater faculty cohesion and focus and, in turn, facilitates more skillful shared decision making. A skillful staff development program results in a self-perpetuating process for change, as well as new knowledge and skills for teachers and increased learning for students.

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Schoolwide Professional Community*

by Karen Seashore Louis, Sharon D. Kruse, Helen M. Marks

The much-quoted African proverb, "It takes a whole village to raise a child," captures the theme of the importance of community support for teaching and learning. Individual teachers and peers in classrooms influence children's learning each day, but the extent to which many adults cooperate over the school years in educating the child ultimately determines whether he or she makes the greatest possible progress in the journey toward adulthood.

Cooperation alone does not guarantee adults' success in building intellectual capacity in children, however. Nevertheless, community among adults, when focused on professional responsibility and the central tasks of education, can reinforce and augment the talent, knowledge, and insight that individual teachers bring to their work. While well-designed school restructuring efforts may stimulate teachers' enthusiasm and satisfaction in their work, without professional community, most individual teachers will find it difficult to sustain the level of energy needed to reflect continually on and improve their practice for the benefit of authentic student achievement.

The Importance of Schoolwide Professional Community

The school reform movement has emphasized the professionalization of teachers' work. Commonly stated themes include more stringent standards of entry into the teaching field, a national licensing system for more advanced teachers, and better pay and training opportunities to attract and retain skilled, committed practitioners. These reforms may be critical, but researchers and educational reformers should not focus solely on strategies to develop individual professionals.[1] Teachers also need collegial resources for support and refreshment.

Educational networks of other professional organizations beyond the school may provide teachers some forms of technical and collegial support. Discipline-based reform projects, such as those that formulate curriculum standards, can also become the basis for teacher commitment and interaction, particularly in high schools.[2] But professional community, as we define it, offers the more inclusive support of a whole school: An entire faculty comes together around meaningful, shared issues irrespective of teachers' individual disciplines. Schoolwide community does not devalue other forms of collective professional relationships nor is it incompatible with a departmental structure. But it does entail staff members' taking collective responsibility for achieving a shared educational purpose for the school as a whole and collaborating with one another to attain it.

By collaborating on common objectives, sharing developmental activities and concerns, and reflecting together on the technical aspects of their teaching, teachers come to own in common the consequences of their joint work for students' intellectual progress. Professional community reinforces peer pressure on and accountability of staff who may not be carrying their fair share of responsibility for students' learning, just as it eases the burden of other teachers who work hard in isolation but have not found success in helping some students. All of this normative support is helpful in sustaining each teacher's commitment to the difficult work of teaching.

Without the normative climate provided by a school professional community, making major pedagogical change is possible but very difficult. Authentic pedagogy presents a major challenge. It calls on teachers not simply to adopt specific techniques but to make complex judgments about how to promote the intellectual qualities of construction of knowledge, disciplined inquiry, and value beyond school. There are no formulas, textbooks, or training programs that chart the path to success. Instead

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teachers must build innovative curriculum and assessment, try a variety of instructional activities, and continually revise their practice. School professional community offers the kind of intellectual and social support necessary for success with authentic pedagogy.

Elements of Professional Community

Five elements appear critical to school professional community: shared norms and values, focus on student learning, reflective dialogue, deprivatization of practice, and collaboration.[3]

Shared Norms and Values

Through language and action, teachers can develop and reaffirm their common assumptions about children, learning, teaching, teachers' roles, the importance of interpersonal relationships, and commitment to the collective good (Bryk, Lee, and Holland, 1993). Values central to teachers' work include their views about children and children's ability to learn, school priorities for the use of time and space, and the proper roles of parents, teachers, and administrators. When school values are vague or consensus on what is expected of teachers is low, teachers may enjoy more autonomy to pursue their unique interests. But if teachers cannot count on colleagues to reinforce their objectives, individual autonomy can reduce teachers' efficacy.

In contrast, clear shared values and norms, collectively reinforced, increase the likelihood of teachers' success. Shared values find expression in school practices. Where professional community thrives, teachers assume that all students can learn at reasonably high levels. Despite the many obstacles that students may face outside school, teachers are confident they can help them learn (Louis, Marks, and Kruse, 1996). Teachers might require students who are failing to take part in after-school support activities, for example; thus they demonstrate consistency between an appreciation for achievement and the need to offer extra help to ensure that learning occurs.

Focus on Student Learning

Attentiveness to student learning is a core characteristic of schools where professional community is strong. Faculty discussion and action center on improving students' opportunity to learn and enhancing students' achievement (Abbott, 1991; Darling-Hammond and Goodwin, 1993). Teachers send clear and consistent messages to one another about the objectives and methods of learning. Rather than focusing on activities or techniques simply to engage student attention, for example, these teachers discuss the ways in which their actions promote students' intellectual development. Such mutually felt obligations among teachers emphasize intellectual benefits for students as primary among the many possible goals of schooling.

Reflective Dialogue

Reflection intensifies teachers' awareness of their practice and its consequences. Commitment to reflection as a group activity leads to extensive and continuing conversations among teachers about curriculum, instruction, and student development (Zeichner and Tabachnick, 1991). In strong professional communities, teachers use these discussions to evaluate themselves and their schools. These critiques can address several issues: selection of subject matter and strategies for presenting it to students, ways to assess student learning and development, the social conditions of schooling, and issues of equity and justice.

Deprivatization of Practice

Reflective dialogue is often coupled with open discussion about individual teachers' practice. To succeed with authentic pedagogy, teachers must analyze and evaluate their effectiveness in teaching students to construct knowledge skillfully. They must continually devise ways of interacting with students that are not well defined in textbooks or professional literature—for example, how to balance depth of understanding with teaching broad coverage of important information; how to introduce new, unfamiliar material in ways that build on students' prior knowledge; and how to insist on high standards of performance for all but take into account differences in students' background, style, and pace of learning.

These issues are often too complex to be solved by teachers working alone. Peers become a critical source of insight and feedback to improve reflective teachers' understanding of their own practice (Kruse, 1995). By sharing uncertainties about practice, teachers learn new ways to talk about what they do. At the same time, they kindle new relationships that help to advance their work. In an emerging professional community the typical norm of individual autonomy is diminished, and teachers become committed to practicing their craft in public ways (Lieberman, 1988).

Collaboration

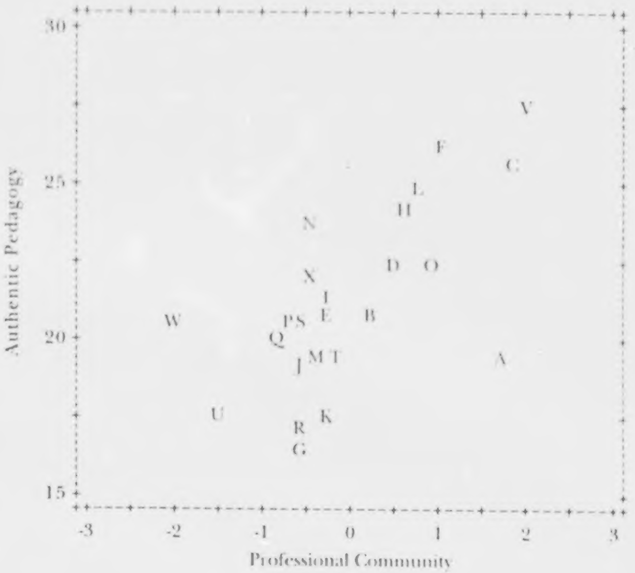
Collaboration is a natural outgrowth of reflective dialogue and deprivatized practice. As teachers work with students from increasingly diverse social backgrounds and as the curriculum demands more intellectual rigor, teachers require new information and skills. Sharing expertise with one another can increase teachers' technical competence. Building on the mutual understanding they have established, teachers work together to produce materials and activities for improving curriculum and pedagogy and to devise new approaches to professional development. Collaborative efforts also augment and reinforce the mosaic of socioemotional support within the school (Little, 1990). When teachers collaborate productively, they participate in reflective dialogue; they observe and react to one another's teaching, curriculum, and assessment practices; and they engage in joint planning and curriculum development. All of these forms of collaboration should improve practice.

How Professional Community Supports Authentic Pedagogy

To examine the extent to which professional community promoted authentic pedagogy in the SRS schools, we used survey data collected from the teachers to construct an index of professional community that incorporates measures of each of the five elements critical to professional community.[4] We compared the level of professional community for each school with its rank on authentic pedagogy.

Figure 1 displays the results of this comparison. We found that in schools where professional community is strong, pedagogy tends to be more authentic; where professional community is weak, pedagogy also tends to be weak.[5] Because authentic pedagogy produces high-quality student performance, we can infer that schoolwide professional com-

FIGURE 1:
Professional Community and Authentic Pedagogy



School Key

	Elementary		Middle		High
A	Humboldt	I	Morris	Q	Fremont
B	Sumpter	J	Selway	R	Wallingford
C	Ashley	K	Baldwin	S	Flinders
D	Eldorado	L	Red Lake	T	Huron
E	Winema	M	Shining Rock	U	South Glen
F	Careen	N	Copan	V	Cibola
G	Falls River	O	Okanagon	W	Island
H	Lamar	P	Ottawa	X	Marble Canyon

Note: Scores for authentic pedagogy are school averages for mathematics and social studies classes, scored according to the standards described in Chapter One. Scores for professional community are school averages for all teachers in the school across the five dimensions of professional community (described in Appendix A), assessed by surveys and standardized across the twenty-four schools.

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munity contributes indirectly to student academic achievement.[6]

The statistical data cannot prove that professional community causes teachers to engage in more authentic classroom practice. A skeptic could plausibly argue that teachers who are making efforts to increase authentic pedagogy are more likely to seek support for this difficult task from their colleagues, thus creating professional community. This issue of causality is like the chicken-and-egg question and could not be conclusively answered through the design of this study.[7] Furthermore, it is possible to imagine a strong professional community focused on refining traditional pedagogy that concentrated only on transmission of knowledge through recitation. Nevertheless, as ensuing examples will show, strong professional communities in the SRS schools enhanced teachers' attention to the intellectual quality of student learning and their commitment to the restructuring effort. The specific form of professional community varied among schools, but the strongest examples reflected the five elements.[8]

(Discussion of individual schools has been omitted here.)

Supporting Professional Community

Schoolwide professional community can sustain intellectual quality and teachers' commitment to the hard work of school reform. However, not all SRS schools achieved such high levels of professional community. If more schools are to advance in developing as professional communities, what school conditions seem to be important?

Strong professional community schools such as Lamar, Red Lake, and Cibola attended to key facets of both school culture and structure. In the following section, we discuss how school culture and structure interact to support professional community.

Cultural Conditions Supporting Professional Community

Several cultural conditions could conceivably support professional community, but here we emphasize a few that stood out. Schools with the most vital professional communities had two prominent features in common: teachers' dedication to inquiry and innovation, and supportive leadership, typically from a principal or a formally designated teacher leader.[9]

A Climate of Professional Inquiry. The culture of emergent professional communities in the SRS schools is decidedly intellectual. Cibola teachers, committed to inquiry, struggled together to define improved practice at both a conceptual and a concrete level. Because Red Lake teachers were engaged with new ideas in the profession, they attended workshops and discussed instruction (despite their limited collaboration). The cultures of inquiry at Cibola and Red Lake welcomed ideas, particularly ideas found outside the school. Conspicuously absent was the "not-invented-here" attitude that deters some teachers from thinking about alternative practices and educational approaches.

Principals at some of the schools served as conduits to new ideas. In other schools teachers, with the principal's blessing, independently brought new ideas to the teams. Under the leadership of the principal, who provided opportunities and expectations for teachers to share new knowledge, teachers at Lamar researched and applied new ideas to complement and reinforce their vision as an inquiry-based school. With support provided by their industry technology partner, teachers took primary responsibility for innovation. Cibola's principal connected teachers to an expanding local network of other educators committed to authentic pedagogy and assessment. By promoting inquiry-oriented school environments, principals at Lamar and Cibola reinforced the role of teachers as generators and consumers of knowledge.

Principals who lead in ways that model and reward intellectual effort help the school environment to sustain the discussion of important ideas, and teachers search beyond the school for new practices and approaches to enrich its program. In short, a culture of inquiry thrives if both principals and teachers build bridges to the world of research and development outside the school or if they actively promote the role of external advisers who can do so.

When colleagues or external sources introduced instructional innovations, for example, teachers in strong professional communities used the collective processes we have described to interrogate the actual value of the innovations: would the innovation contribute to the intellectual quality of students' learning? When an innovation was judged worthwhile, collegial technical and social support for it often resulted in more focused teaching and more clearly defined assessment methods. As teaching becomes more closely aligned with authentic assessment tasks, student achievement is likely to improve. Visible student improvement, in turn, reinforces teachers' individual and collective commitment to their work and the value they place on collaborative inquiry.

Can Teachers Take Risks? Rewards for innovation and tolerance of small failures support intellectual vitality in teachers. But departing from established instructional patterns entails uncertainty and the risk of failure (Rowan, 1994). Yet teachers' and administrators' willingness to take the risks of innovation stood out in all of the most successful schools. These faculties had the capacity to learn from small losses. As with most other successful and vital organizations in other sectors, they acquired knowledge useful for future planning by critically examining small failures as well as successes (Siskin, 1991).

Risk taking and professional community were closely linked at Red Lake. Curricular choice encouraged teachers to design courses and to take on the risk of organizing curriculum and instruction in unconventional ways. To evaluate the effectiveness of their innovations, teachers solicited candid student reactions to their learning experiences. Because Red Lake's principal consistently supported teachers who wished to try something novel, they could openly discuss their uncertainties about the difficult process of translating their ideas into teachable units. Innovation was a norm at Red Lake, but so were expectations for reflection, assessment, and continuous readjustment.

Reshaping Leadership at the School Level. The formal title for the chief administrator at most SRS schools was principal, but other titles included teacher-director (Cibola), chief educational officer (Okanagon), and coordinator (Island). In some schools, teachers held formal leadership positions, but in all cases, those with principal-like responsibilities had great influence over the quality of professional community.

Leaders in schools with strong professional community differed from their counterparts in schools where professional community proved relatively weak. The more effective leaders took on such new roles as working with teachers to stimulate intellectual inquiry in the school. Confirming the findings of other recent research, we found that the most effective administrative leaders delegated authority, developed collaborative decision-making processes, and stepped back from being the central problem solver (Leitherwood, Jantzi, and Fernandez, 1995; Louis, Kruse, and Associates, 1995; Murphy, 1994). Instead they turned to the professional community for critical decisions. In each case the quality of professional community depended more on the way in which leaders enacted their roles than on the formal definition of their roles. A more equitable exercise of power and influence fostered collective responsibility for student learning and instructional collaboration among teachers (Marks and Louis, 1996).

In the more successful schools, individuals in leadership positions defined themselves as at the center of the school's staff rather than at the top. Cibola's teacher-director delegated most of the day-to-day management of the school to others while she provided intellectual stimulation for the faculty. In addition to playing a major role in negotiating the district's bureaucracy, she connected the school to outside resources, including a network of like-minded schools. Okanagon's chief educational officer was a member of most important committees (the curriculum committee and the main governance committee), but both he and the other committee members viewed him as having merely one vote. Nevertheless, as in many of the other schools, he played an important role as keeper of the dream, reminding teachers on many occasions about the key values that were expected to guide difficult decisions.

In sum, although successful leaders of professional community gave up some typically visible leader behaviors, such as running meetings and issuing solutions to school problems, they still maintained a strong presence. They worked effectively to stimulate professional discussion and to create the networks of conversation that tied faculty together around common issues of instruction and teaching.

Our emphasis on commonality, collegiality, and cooperation is not meant to devalue conflict. Without some conflict, professional communities could become resistant to legitimate challenges to established programs and routines. In order for communities to grow, they must occasionally question their own values, a process that inevitably induces disagreement. Thus strong communities encourage debate, but debates engender the potential for division.

In most of the SRS schools, the designated leader effectively managed conflict. Principals in schools with strong professional communities did not often unilaterally resolve differences, but they encouraged a supportive environment and structures for teachers to resolve them. At Ashley, many teachers describe their sense that the principal fostered the norm of continuous discussion but did not demand closure or conformity. One teacher said, "There is no resolution [to our discussions about standardized testing]. You really can't come up with a final resolution. I think in some schools the principal might say, 'This what we're gonna do.'...It's not done that way in this school."

Forums for discussion and debate enabled teachers to adjudicate discord and work toward respectful agreement. Safe forums where hard listening occurs allowed teachers to discuss alternatives in ways that reinforce community values rather than individual self-interest. Thus schools could sustain a shared commitment to their restructuring effort, even when members of the staff disagreed.

School leaders must also negotiate the politics of reform within the local context. Reform efforts are highly susceptible to failure, especially when they do not enjoy the support of all the teachers in a school, when they are opposed by vocal parents, or when they are driven primarily by outside agencies. Careful management of relationships within the school and with external groups is necessary so that teachers feel involved with decision making on critical issues and they enjoy support from parents and agencies beyond the school (Beck, 1994; Louis and Miles, 1990). Since many SRS schools were located in large, urban setting, there was a common need for someone who could negotiate the many requirements of the "downtown" district office. Even schools like Red Lake, located in a smaller urban setting, depended on the principal to keep the district office appraised of unconventional developments at the school so as to avoid unanticipated controversy.

Finally, principals and designated teacher leaders often bear the responsibility to ensure that school structure supports professional community. Because they are usually better positioned to negotiate structural innovations (for example, in grade-level and departmental organization, governance systems, scheduling of instruction, or grouping of students), school leaders must understand the potential for organizational structures to support or inhibit professional community.

To summarize, as Louis and Miles (1990) point out, the most effective principals engaged in both transformational leadership activities (maintaining vision, rethinking the organizational structure) and a great deal of detailed management that supported teachers' work (facilitating conflict resolution, obtaining resources, ensuring smooth relationships with the district).

Structural Conditions Supporting Professional Community

The cultural qualities of professional inquiry, risk taking, and leadership that support professional community can in turn be supported by, and often depend on, important structural conditions, especially school size and complexity, school autonomy and shared decision making, time for teacher planning, and opportunities for professional development.

Size and Complexity. Large school size adversely affects teachers' ability to know and talk with one another. Meetings of the whole, which can sustain reflective dialogue, become very difficult in large schools. Thus smaller schools and elementary and middle schools tended to be more effective in creating professional community than larger schools, especially high schools. Nonetheless some larger schools supported professional community by repeatedly emphasizing common goals and by creating smaller settings where teachers could work together.

Complexity results when schools maintain specialized academic and student support programs that entail differential staffing assignments and include many nonteaching professionals in staff roles. In complex organizations, subgroups within the staff may develop diverse values and norms.[10] Academic departments in high schools can offer the locus of professional community for teachers, for example, creating, in effect, schools within schools (Siskin, 1994). Cohesive subunits, such as departments or grade-level teams, can develop norms that conflict with the needs of the larger school unless they are effectively integrated into a larger whole (Little, 1993; Talbert, 1994).

Making significant reductions in school size and complexity requires considerable readjustment, but serious efforts along these lines can strengthen professional community and bring significant improvements in student achievement (Lee and Smith, 1995; Lee, Smith, and Croninger, 1995b).

School Autonomy and Shared Decision Making. The most successful SRS schools shared an important characteristic: considerable autonomy to create their own instructional programs, select their teachers, and organize their staff development programs around local needs. This sort of authority made it possible to form and maintain shared norms and a cohesive school culture. As Chapter Eleven explains, autonomy from external agencies created important opportunities for schools that had established or were poised to establish cohesive cultures.

Because the schools were free from district and state constraints, teachers were also more likely to share in important school-level decisions. Democratic school structures provided fair processes for ensuring that staff members received equitable treatment.[11] Sharing power relations through such structures also permits the experience of associated living: the exchange of ideas, common ideals, and shared concerns and interests. In these ways, democratic school structures provide a critical foundation for professional community.

Time for Teacher Planning and Analysis. If teachers are to discuss their practice, collaborate, and direct their energies toward common goals of intellectual quality, time for planning and analysis is essential (Wohlsetter, Smyer, and Mohrman, 1994). Reorganizing schools to provide teachers with more noninstructional time is controversial, because it is assumed that this would substantially increase costs that the United States taxpayers would not be willing to bear. Nevertheless, SRS schools with strong professional communities managed to find time for teacher planning through the following strategies:

- Arranging teaching schedules so teaching teams could meet together. For example, teacher teams at Okanagon met almost daily to work on issues related to student advising and curriculum development.
- Reducing the complexity of the schedule by offering fewer courses, an approach that was used primarily in secondary schools such as Cibola.
- Enlisting teacher aides and volunteer parents to supervise students, which occurred more often in elementary schools. Lamar obtained more time for consultation between teacher-partners through the use of parents in classrooms.
- Involving students in community internships and service learning, a strategy at Cibola that served both to connect students with real-world learning settings and move students out of the school so that larger groups of teachers could meet for more extended periods during the school day.
- Using professional development funds to provide release time for meetings, retreats, and summer development projects. Red Lake sponsored all-staff retreats, in some years more than once.

Planning time does not ensure that teachers will develop professional community. In some schools, teams with significant planning time were unproductive because school culture did not sufficiently emphasize teacher inquiry about the intellectual quality of student learning. Nevertheless the most successful schools viewed planning time as a critical resource for teachers to develop and refine the school's particular version of authentic pedagogy.

Professional Development. To increase teachers' expertise, schools have traditionally participated in professional development activities. Typically these programs vary from opportunities for teachers to enroll in self-selected university courses to episodic schoolwide presentations by outside experts. Although individual teachers might profit from such experiences, in general such programs fail to enhance expertise or school professional community. The one-day or half-day workshop model was found in most of the SRS schools, but in the more successful schools, we saw alternative approaches that the participants viewed as more significant.

Professional development tended to be focused on groups of teachers within the school or the faculty as a whole. Making use of internal as well as external expertise, staff development activities took advantage of local skills and sharing of effective practice. Including internal experts as staff developers reinforced teachers' sense of commitment to their school goals. Okanagon presents a strong example of this strategy, because many teachers took advantage of the school's connections to individual conference and training opportunities to learn new skills, but there was a strong norm that those who did so had an obligation to give back to their colleagues by offering them staff development opportunities in their areas of special expertise. Faculty tended to view their internal staff development roles as a privilege and a source of additional personal growth. One teacher who had been doing the training in Socratic seminars since 1989 found it "incredible to work with [other] teachers. I love that. People can have new ideas, pick your brains, and you learn back from their giving you a scenario, and it makes me think."

In strong professional community schools, staff development responded to the special needs of individual teachers and helped to increase their understanding of instruction and their repertoire of teaching skills, but these advancements were connected to larger collective purposes. The Red Lake principal viewed a grant from the state as part of an opportunity to blend the special "teach to your passion" focus of the school with the need for discussion about ideas among the staff. He deliberately encouraged groups of teachers to take additional courses and seminars in their areas of expertise where these benefitted the school, and he used grant monies to develop whole-day staff retreats where teachers would share emerging ideas about pedagogy and curriculum. The retreats were specifically intended for staff development purposes and focused on program development within the school. When grant monies shrank, the principal made an effort to find the resources to maintain intensive, all-school opportunities to connect and plan.

Unconventional staff development strategies were present in a number of the SRS schools. In Ashley, for example, the traditional staff development program had been largely replaced with release time for teachers to organize a full-day conference on curricular and instructional issues for teachers from other schools. Both the principal and faculty agreed that the process of planning for this successful annual event fostered both individual learning and collective growth as teachers worked together on sessions. Teachers' teaching other teachers was a form of professional development in several other schools as well. Cibola introduced another unconventional approach. The director and teachers organized an external review process that included classroom observations of teachers, coupled with individual constructive and nonthreatening feedback. The process offered the school a special professional development opportunity for both specific teachers and the school as a whole, as faculty considered together what they learned from the visitation and report, and what might be changed.

Island High School: Low Professional Community and Its Consequences

Although the profiles of successful schools make the operation of professional community seem quite simple, developing its core elements, even under relatively ideal conditions, requires major changes in how teachers, parents, and principals think about the operations of schools (Louis, Kruse, and Associates, 1995). Our illustrations have come from thriving, mature communities, such as Lamar, Red Lake, Cibola, and Okanagon. Other schools, such as Island High, struggled. Structure, leadership, and social conditions thwarted Island's ability to develop a professional community.

At one time a traditional high school, Island sought to recreate itself as a restructured school. At the time of our visit, island's 1,232 students traveled between two buildings to attend classes often taught by teachers who lacked the time and the proximity to meet together to plan for new programs. Unlike Cibola teachers who were able to design a new school for a select population, a district initiative and a state-mandated framework forced Island teachers to adopt a school restructuring agenda. Although Island responded to these mandates with structural innovations, it failed to create a school culture driven by coherent educational goals around which to organize the changes.

Dedicated teachers labored under difficult conditions at Island High School. Faculty disagreement on how best to meet the needs of the increasingly diverse and disadvantaged student population inhibited teachers' efforts to develop unified programs. Individual teachers engaged in efforts to meet the needs of subsets of the student population, but the larger effort was fragmented.

The absence of an academic and instructional focus for staff activity, Island's story suggests, hinders the growth of community within schools. In one innovation, Island grouped teachers across departments, organizing into interdisciplinary teams all the teachers assigned to the preparatory division (grades 9-10). Some faculty appreciated the opportunity to interact with a smaller number of colleagues, but the schedule did not allow all teams common planning periods. Teachers' ability to work together on curriculum and instructional issues was therefore limited—a common problem for a number of the SRS schools.

A substantial minority of Island teachers (25 to 30 percent), who were concentrated in eleventh and twelfth grade, did not buy in to the interdisciplinary team activities and continued to offer more traditionally structured courses. While preserving surface harmony, the strategy inhibited development of schoolwide community. In other schools with higher levels of professional community, dissident groups sometimes formed, but the strong cultures of these schools withstood the conflict. Teachers who did not agree with the reform effort either left or eventually were assimilated into the majority, who favored reform. Island had access to structures of support—such as a relationship with a learning center that provided a wide variety of professional development opportunities and a system of committees that were potential venues for professional conversation—but these failed to enhance professional community. Lacking a schoolwide vision for restructuring, Island teachers reacted to the state reform effort by generating a large number of unrelated innovations. The programs they developed to meet student needs had goals either too vague or too specialized to support the growth of school professional community. Although teachers met regularly, meetings bogged down in confusion over the appropriateness of content or procedural difficulties in reaching decisions.

Lacking an established common vocabulary with which to discuss instruction or curriculum, teachers were unable to reflect collectively on practice or to collaborate productively. Despite their dedication, the faculty lacked shared norms for instruction and curriculum. As a result, reflective dialogue among teachers rarely occurred on instructional teams, governance committees, or a planning committee charged with producing a transformation plan.

Summary

By looking closely at the nature of teachers' work in the schools more successful with authentic pedagogy, we noticed the importance not simply of individual practice within classrooms but the ways teachers connect to and work with colleagues throughout the school. We identified this positive work setting as school professional community and defined it more specifically through five elements that tended to occur together: clear values and norms, a focus on student learning, reflective dialogue, deprivatization of practice, and collaboration.

Using case study data from diverse schools, we explained how these aspects of professional community supported authentic pedagogy by reinforcing an emphasis on the intellectual quality of student learning, by offering teachers technical help with the innovation that such pedagogy requires, and by strengthening social support that sustains teacher commitment with this difficult work. Teachers in the profiled schools were enthusiastic about their work, found satisfaction in teaching, and believed they were making a difference in their classrooms. They typically reported that elements of school professional communities helped them to improve their teaching.

Finally, we described how professional community is supported through an interaction of cultural and structural characteristics. Critical cultural conditions included a climate of professional inquiry, taking the risks of innovation, and leadership focused on participation, intellectual stimulation, and conflict management. Key structural conditions included reduced school size and organizational complexity, school autonomy and shared power relations, time for teacher planning, and sustained investments in teacher professional development.

Notes

1. Louis, Marks, and Kruse (1996) expand on this argument.

2. McLaughlin (1994), Rowan (1994), and Siskin (1994) show the importance of disciplinary and departmental communities in high schools.

3. This section of the chapter draws on Kruse, Louis, and Bryk (1995).

4. The survey items are presented in Appendix A, and the methodology is explained in Louis, Marks, and Kruse (1996). Louis and Marks (1996) investigate the relationship of professional community to authentic pedagogy.

5. An exception is School A (Humboldt Elementary), where a lower-than-expected pedagogy score was due largely to missing assessment data. Center researchers reported many examples of authentic instruction from their classroom observations at Humboldt. School N (Copan Middle School), where above-average pedagogy coexisted with lower-than-average schoolwide community, is also an exception. Copan's schoolwide community was affected by the presence of strong grade-level teams that developed a somewhat competitive stance in relation to each other.

6. The correlation between professional community and authentic pedagogy is .66; between authentic pedagogy and student achievement, the correlation is .68. Correlations are measured on a scale of 0 to 1.0. Researchers consider correlational estimates such as these to be very strong.

7. To conduct a rigorous test of whether professional community causes authentic pedagogy, one might find schools with low levels of both authentic pedagogy and professional community, then select a random sample of schools and expose them to interventions designed to promote professional community but with no explicit focus on authentic pedagogy. After an appropriate period of time, one could see whether advances in professional community were associated with increases in authentic pedagogy and whether schools that continued low on professional community consistently failed to achieve authentic pedagogy.

8. Although our definition of professional community implies that all elements be present to some extent, we do not mean that all schools with strong professional communities must be equally high on all dimensions. Red Lake Middle School, for example, exhibited very strong patterns of shared norms and values, a collective focus on student learning, and commitment to collaborative governance. It exhibited only modest levels of reflective dialogue and deprivatized practice.

9. For a more detailed discussion of cultural supports for professional community, see Louis, Kruse, and Associates (1995).

10. See, for example, Little's (1994) analysis of the divisions between vocational and nonvocational teachers in comprehensive high schools and analyses of differences between high school academic departments (McLaughlin and Talbert, 1993; Talbert, 1991).

11. SRS findings on this issue confirm and extend the conclusions of Bryk, Lee, and Holland (1993); Bull, Fruehling, and Chattergy (1992); Kymlicka (1991).

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Reforming Again, Again, and Again*

by Larry Cuban

> Everything has been said before, but since nobody listens, we have to keep going back and begin again.
>
> —Andre Gide

At first glance, Gide's quote sounds arrogant—much like saying that America is the land of the forgetful. I do not mean it that way. I interpret his words as a simple recognition of how most people either ignore or forget the past and need to be reminded that much, indeed, "has been said before" about why planned changes keep reappearing (Roth, 1988). To skeptics who may question whether reforms do, in fact, recur, I will offer three examples to make that point. Then I will explore how scholars have tried to explain why school reforms return. Finally, because these familiar explanations ignore or omit extensive evidence, I offer alternatives that embrace the counterevidence.

The point is to spotlight an issue—the inevitable return of school reforms—that has become so familiar as to enter the folk wisdom of policymakers and practitioners. Why is highlighting this issue important? Public officials' eagerness to reform schools has continued unabated in this century, especially since World War II. Policymakers have ready explanations for why schools are so hard to change and why previous reforms have failed. These explanations, drawn from experience and biases, may or may not be informed by historical research or alternative ways of viewing the past.

The state-engineered school reforms of the 1980s, for example, have sought a regeneration of the American economy. This vision was anchored in popular views of the recent past (1960s and 1970s), when educators supposedly had permitted academic standards to slip from their high position in earlier decades. Yet, a generation ago, school critics and policymakers in the 1950s argued that Deweyan ideologies had so permeated the public schools of the 1930s and 1940s that the curriculum had become virtually useless in providing the nation with scientists and engineers (Honig, 1985; Ravitch, 1983).

Reform visions often depend on a view of the past as a series of failures that killed a golden age of schooling. Critics' claims about what happened in schools in earlier decades and policymakers' assumptions about the past often become rationales for reform. Thus, the stakes for policymaking are high because such questions about why reforms failed in the past and why they return go to the heart of present policy debates over whether federal, state, and district mandates to alter schooling will ever get past the classroom door. I begin with three examples of recurring school reforms.

Classroom: Teacher-Centered Instruction

Much has been reported about the durability of teacher-centered instruction, sometimes called "chalk-and-talk" or "frontal teaching," even in the face of determined efforts to move classroom practices toward student-centered approaches (Applebee, 1974; Cuban, 1984; Goodlad, 1984; Hoetker and Ahlbrand, 1969; see also Applebee, Langer, and Mullis, 1987; Stake and Easley, 1978; Suydam, 1977; Westbury, 1973).

Currently, educators and parents are expressing intense interest in such instructional reforms as cooperative learning, greater student participation in classroom tasks, and increased teacher and student use of computers. In each instance, deeply held values about how teachers should teach, the role of content in classrooms, and how children should learn clash. Such debate over classroom pedagogy is familiar.

For many centuries, these two traditions of how teachers should and do teach have fired debates and shaped practice. What I called teacher-centered instruction has been variously labeled as subject cen-

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tered, "tough minded" (James, 1958), "hard pedagogy" (Katz, 1968), and "mimetic" (Jackson, 1986). What I called student-centered instruction has been variously labeled child centered, "Tender minded" (James, 1958), "soft pedagogy" (Katz, 1968), and "transformative" (Jackson, 1986). Both traditions of teaching are anchored in different views of knowledge and the relationship of teacher and learner to that knowledge. In teacher-centered instruction, knowledge is often (but not always) "presented" to a learner, who—and the metaphors from different cultures vary here—is a "blank slate," a "vessel to fill," or "a duck to stuff." In student-centered instruction, knowledge is often (but not always) "discovered" by the learner, who, again using different metaphors, is "rich clay in the hands of an artist" or "a flourishing garden in need of a masterful cultivator."

In America, over a century and a half ago, pedagogical reformers condemned teacher-centered instruction with its emphasis on a textbook from which students recited already-memorized information, and with teachers doing most of the talking to the entire group and asking rapid-fire questions. Criticism of teachers requiring students to memorize chapters of a text or the entire U.S. Constitution began to appear by the 1840s and 1850s. The metaphor of the mind as a garden (rather than a storehouse) reentered the debates on how teachers should teach (Katz, 1968). Motivating children through their interests introduced notions of the whole child well before the Civil War. Object teaching, an instructional innovation that leaned heavily on what students observed in the world, sought to arouse students' curiosity. Schooling, these reformers argued, should be connected to the real world. Innovative educators introduced animals, flowers, and early photographs into classrooms. Recall also that the first kindergartens, with their heavy emphasis on play, cultivation of emotions and expression, and use of real-world objects, were founded just after the Civil War (Dearborn, 1925; Shapiro, 1983).

The next generation of reformers also tried to end teacher-centered practices. Progressives, some of whom were determined to make schools into child-centered places, fought against regimented instruction as early as the 1870s and into the 1900s. Child-centered progressives wanted more student involvement, active learning, informal relations between teachers and students, and connections to the larger world outside the classroom. Innovative methods such as using small groups, activity projects, joint student-teacher planning of classroom work, and bringing into classrooms just-minted technologies of film and radio were reformers' ways of making early 20th century classrooms child centered. Few of these changes entered classrooms and remained as intended (Cremin, 1988; Goodlad, 1984; see also Cremin, 1961; Cuban, 1984).

Within the present moment of reform another generation of reformers is fighting against a technical, subject-centered form of instruction expressed in mastery learning, measurement-driven curricula, and bookkeeperlike accountability. Those researchers and practitioners who herald cooperative learning, active student involvement an the virtues of desktop computers that interact with students, bring new meaning to Yogi Berra's observation: "It's déjà vu all over again."

Curriculum: The Academic and the Practical

It comes as no surprise, then, that the centuries-old traditions about the forms of teaching that are embedded in different values about knowledge and its relationship to teachers and students would have generated tensions about what content should be taught in schools. We are now in the full flush of state-driven reforms that aim for a common core of academic knowledge. We hear that 17-year-olds can't figure out math problems, locate Siberia, or tell the difference between the Bill of Rights and a bill of sale. Higher graduation requirements now mandate that all students take more academic subjects. Yet this passion for a core of subject matter shared by all would be familiar to Horace Mann and other mid-19th-century school reformers who introduced the common school curriculum in the first eight grades.

So, too, would the current passion for all students studying the same academic content be familiar to Harvard University President Charles Eliot, who chaired the Committee of Ten in 1893. That committee urged upon all high schools 4 years of English and 3 years of history, science, mathematics, and a foreign language. The committee further recommended that:

> Every subject which is taught at all in a secondary school should be taught in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil as long as he pursues it, no matter what the probable destination of the pupil may be, or at which point his education is to cease. (Krug, 1961, p. 87).

Since then there have been repeated efforts to reduce the tension between having all students study academic subjects for their liberal values and introducing technical or practical subjects that may reflect different futures in the job market. Progressives challenged the one best academic curriculum. They saw boredom, mechanical instruction, and huge numbers of students leaving school at ages 12 and 13. They were anxious to fit the curriculum to the student rather than the student to the curriculum. They redefined an equal education, from all students being forced to take the same practical academic curriculum to all students taking different courses to cultivate their varied interests, capacities, and vocational futures (Cremin, 1961; Tyack, 1974). The familiar comprehensive junior and senior high school, with its many courses of study, is a consequence of these turn-of-the-century reformers' success in altering the curriculum.

Severe criticism of these reforms came in the 1950s with another generation of change masters whose curricular values were captured in the titles of the books: *Quackery in the Public Schools* (Lynd, 1953), *Educational Wastelands* (Bestor, 1953), and *Second-Rate Brains* (Lansner, 1958). The National Science Foundation, established in 1950, launched major changes in science and math curricula led by university specialists. James B. Conant's studies of secondary schools in the mid-1950s underscored the necessity for providing rigorous academic content for able, college-bound students (Silberman, 1971).

By the mid-1960s, however, broad political and social movements aimed at freeing the individual from bureaucratic constraints and helping ethnic and racial minorities end their second-class status had swept across schools. If desegregation, compensatory education, and magnet schools became familiar phrases, so did free schools, open classrooms, flexible scheduling, and middle schools. Many (but not all) of the previous decade's curricular reforms evaporated by the early 1970s as efforts redoubled to differentiate courses and schools for low-income and minority children. Alternative schools, broadened vocational programs, and new curricula that blended academic and practical subjects dotted the school landscape in efforts to recapture students who had been either relegated to the margins of a secondary education or pushed out of schools (Powell, Farrar, and Cohen, 1985; Ravitch, 1983).

By the late 1970s and early 1980s, professional and lay activists were hearing a renewed call for traditional academic curricula in high schools. Demands for academic excellence were translated into more required subjects, a longer school year, more homework, and higher test scores. More students took chemistry, geometry, and foreign languages; fewer students registered for vocational courses. In California, a pacesetter among states in mandating core academic subjects for all students, voters responded warmly to State Superintendent Bill Honig's message for traditional schooling. Honig, a graduate of an academically selective San Francisco high school, said that "a traditional education worked for us, why shouldn't we give at least as good a shot at the common culture to today's children." (Honig, 1985, p. 55).

For almost a century, this enduring curricular tension between values embedded in academic and practical subjects has ebbed and flowed among groups of reformers whose versions of an equal education in a democracy have differed (Kliebard, 1986). The invention of the comprehensive high school and the junior high school in the first quarter of this century fashioned a workable compromise between these competing values that both professional educators and the lay public have since endorsed. Yet each time this debate over values has resurfaced, policymakers have refashioned that compromise by creating or deleting courses of study. As we enter the last decade of this century, this refashioning is again under way.

Centralizing and Decentralizing Authority

As a final example of the persistence of reform, consider the resiliency of the issue of centralizing and decentralizing authority in governing schools. Over a century ago, there were more than 100,000 (yes 100,000!) school districts in the nation. In big cities, school boards had 50 or more members. Frequently, board members doled out teaching jobs to constituents. The system was seen as democratic and responsive to voters by its supporters but to critics—the good-government reformers of the progressive movement—the system was inefficient and corrupt. To bring order to this uncontrolled localism, progressive reformers proposed consolidating many tiny rural districts into larger ones and centralizing power into the hands of smaller, efficient school boards that would hire trained professionals ro run the schools (Cremin, 1961; Cronin, 1973; Katznelson & Weir, 1985; Reese, 1986; Tyack, 1974).

By the early 1960s, the wisdom of these solutions to governing schools had come under attack. Civil rights activists questioned the legitimacy of small school boards in big cities where officials were distant from the lives of minority children in poverty. Calls for schools and educators to be more responsive to their communities welled into proposals for community control and administrative decentralization (Gittell, 1967; Levin, 1970). Values of participation and equity lay at the core of the impulse to decentralize authority to govern schools. Philadelphia, Washington, DC, Los Angeles, Chicago, and other cities divided their school systems into districts with regional superintendents in charge. The 1-million student New York City system was divided into 32 community districts in an effort to shift power closer to parents (Ravitch, 1974). However, by the mid-1970s, the surge of interest in decentralization had spent itself.

In the 1980s, again, centralizing authority gained support from state policymakers who pursued school improvement through legislation. Within a few years, however, a slow recognition grew that state-driven reforms were not penetrating individual schools. Talk spread of unresponsive state bureaucracies incapable of improving local schools. New reform proposals to decentralize decision making were heavily influenced, first, by the research literature on the individual school as the unit of change and, second, by corporate executives who pointed to their organizations, where decision making occurred at the site at which products were made or services delivered (Kearns, 1988; Purkey and Smith, 1983). Policymakers introduced "school-site councils," "school-based-management," and "restructured schools." In 1989, the Illinois legislature authorized Chicago to place each of its 595 schools under the management of an 11-member school-site council that included both parents and practitioners. New York City continues to seek ways of retaining its 32 community districts, but without the mismanagement and patronage that have seeped into the governance of a few districts (Daniels, 1988). So, again, the tension persists between the values embedded in centralization and decentralization in governing schools.

In offering these three instances of reforms resurfacing repeatedly in the 20th century, I have set the stage for the central question: Why do these reforms keep reappearing?

Why Do Reforms Appear Again and Again?

I begin with an explanation anchored in the rational model of organizational behavior, because it is widely shared by those interested in school improvement. Readers of *Educational Researcher* are familiar with the common practice, among some academics, of bashing rational explanations as ill fitted to the realities of organizations and their environments. Bashing is usually a preface for offering a favored explanation that will, the author believes, convince readers. This is no such preface. I offer a brief examination of the rational model of organizational action because it is pervasive among policymakers, administrators, practitioners, and researchers.

The need to rationalize organizational behavior can be seen in sustained attempts at district and state levels to align curricula with texts, tests, and instructional goals; it can be seen in the accelerating passion for more testing at state and national levels; it can be seen in the spread of classroom evaluation practices drawn from teacher effectiveness research and patterns of systematic curriculum construction laid down by academics who see education as a science; it can be seen in the fickle love affair between the federal government's initial support and later shrunken enthusiasm for research and development centers and laboratories and, finally, it can be seen in the passion for scientifically conducted evaluation studies to prove, once and for all, that a particular teaching method, machine, or curriculum improves student performance. The rational model may be a favored target for abuse in academic journals and studies, but it is alive and well in the world of school reform (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988; Honig, 1985; Kliebard, 1975, 1979, 1986; Slavin, 1989; Timar and Kirp, 1988).

A Rational Explanation for Recurring Reforms

The return of school reforms suggests that the reforms have failed to remove the problems they were intended to solve. Analysts ask: Are we attacking the right problem? Have the policies we adopted fit the problem? Have practitioners implemented the policies as intended? Another set of questions concern whether the solutions designed to correct the problems identified by policymakers were mismatched. Right problems, wrong solutions? Or vice versa? Are we dealing with the problem or the politics of the problem?

Other analysts seeking a rational basis for policy examine the thought processes of policymakers. What analogies and metaphors do they use as a basis for forming policy? For example, historically policymakers have used business firms and their perceived efficiency as desirable models for schools to copy. In the early decades of this century, reformers urged corporate models of governance and managerial techniques on public schools (Callahan, 1962). In the 1980s, it has been common for school funding to be reframed from a cost to an investment in "human capital." Also, explicit comparisons between school sites, as places where services are delivered, and corporate profit centers, where both autonomy and accountability reign, have been common. District and state policymakers increasingly use the language of corporate board rooms (Committee for Economic Development, 1985).

Take the current passion for policies that encourage choice. Broadening parent choice in public schools is a solution. What are the problems that this reform is supposed to solve? To listen carefully to policy makers who promote this reform, choice will, in the words of Minnesota Governor Rudy Perpich, "improve students' academic skills and attitudes and lower the dropout rate" (Perpich, 1989). According to Perpich and other advocates around the country, permitting parents to choose the school they wish their children to attend introduces competition where a monopoly once existed. "By allowing market forces to work in our educational system, families are empowered to make discerning choices about their schools. And they compel schools to be more responsive to the people they serve" (Perpich, 1989). Buried in the thinking of choice advocates is the analogy of the marketplace, where competition for private goods and services leads to both consumers and businesses profiting. Policies of choice are aimed at ending substantial problems within public schools. How these reform policies of choice will end low academic performance and high dropout rates, however, is unclear. The connection is mysterious, although the warm public response to policies of choice and their potent image argue compellingly that there is a mother lode of political gold to be mined there.

Some researchers and analysts have tried to disentangle the values, arguments, and issues that mark the solution of choice to the perceived problem of inadequate public schooling (Elmore, 1987; Kerchner and Boyd, 1987; Raywid, 1985). Few, however, have yet distilled the linkages between choice and its impact on school-site decision making, staff morale, the remaking of curriculum, and the delivery of instruction. Citing exemplars of choice where schooling has improved is useful, but as incomplete as showing Chartes Cathedral to a novice architect and saying: "Here is what can be done."

Those who believe in rational approaches to organizing change would argue that if policymakers only asked tough questions, thought through issues analytically, examined their beliefs, or avoided playing the politics of the problems while carefully using available research findings, school reforms would not keep returning like bad pennies. This rational explanation suggests that policymakers are in control. They have both the knowledge and technical expertise within their grasp to solve problems just like surgeons doing heart bypass operations.

Reforms return because policymakers fail to diagnose problems and promote correct solutions. Reforms return because policymakers use poor historical analogies and pick the wrong lessons from the past (Katz, 1987). Reforms return because policymakers fail, in the words of Charles Silberman two decades ago, "to think seriously about educational purposes" or question the "mindlessness" of schooling (Silberman, 1971, pp. 10-11). Reforms return because policymakers cave in to the politics of a problem rather than the problem itself. Reforms return because decision makers seldom seek reliable, correctly conducted evaluations of program effectiveness before putting a program into practice (Slavin, 1989). In short, were policymakers to pursue a rational course of analysis and decision making and, where fitting, use research and evaluation results properly, there would be no need for the same solutions to reenter the policy arena. The rational explanation is compelling but flawed; it is useful but limited; it is popular but often criticized. Why?

The rational explanation frequently leans heavily on two images: the pendulum and the cycle. Policymakers who believe that history repeats itself or who say that those who are ignorant of the past are condemned to repeat its errors often use the pendulum image. They tend to be critical of swings in national moods about schooling. Few question the existence of such periodic movement: it is their unpredictability in when they begin and end that upsets those deeply interested in rationalizing organizational behavior. There are, unfortunately, at least two unexamined flaws in the popular metaphor.

First, the pendulum swing seemingly returns exactly to the same spot it left. Although there is motion, there is no change. Things predictably return to what they were at a prior time. The facts, however, about both the pendulum and lack of change undercut the image. Physicists have discovered that even in the supposed orderly swing of a laboratory pendulum there are microscopic erratic movements that suddenly erupt without apparent explanation and that the disorder creates complex patterns unseen before. Even a simple pendulum swing was far more complicated than anticipated (Gleick, 1987). If physicists were surprised about the pendulum, ahistorical policymakers would similarly be surprised about the vast changes that have occurred in schooling over the last century and a half of pendulum swings.

The expansion of schooling to embrace all groups of children, regardless of background, throughout the 19^{th} and 20^{th} centuries is a trend-line of almost revolutionary proportions that has marked the United States as unique in the family of nations. The introduction and spread of the graded elementary and secondary school in the mid-19th century and the virtual elimination of the one-room schoolhouse by the late 20^{th} century were dramatic changes that altered the face of public schooling in this nation. By the middle of the 20^{th} century, schools contained libraries, lunchrooms, space for health clinics, industrial and manual training shops, and playgrounds; they were very different places than schools in 1900. Large, politically appointed school boards gave way to small, professionally oriented ones; untrained teachers and administrators were replaced by state-certified and professionally trained practitioners; the classical academic curriculum expanded into varied curricula supplemented by a stunning array of extracurricular activities; class sizes of 50 and more fell to half that. All of these changes occurred within less than a century (Cremin, 1988; Kaestle, 1983; Tyack, 1974). No, the image of a pendulum swing, a stable glide from one point to another without alteration, fails to account for either the erratic motions of such a swing or the enormous changes in public schooling that have occurred over the last century.

The second flaw in the pendulum metaphor is that the image requires a powerful external force beyond the control of policymakers and practitioners to set the pendulum in motion. After all, a playground swing just doesn't start moving by itself; something has to give it a shove. Is it the Russians launching a space vehicle? The Japanese economy outperforming that of the United States? The need for a potent outside force to get the pendulum moving suggests helplessness on the part of supposedly rational policymakers to either halt the swing or redirect it. The pendulum metaphor seemingly accounts for the same reforms returning but ends up weakening the rationality of policymakers by suggesting how impotent they are in reshaping the environment in which schools are embedded.

If the pendulum metaphor contains flawed thinking about rationalizing school organizations, what about the cycle image? The image of a cycle has a rich history in human affairs. Philosophers, historians, and informed observers have generated complex images that speak of ancient civilizations and golden ages arising and disappearing and of cycles that ebb and flow, accumulating a residue of change over time (Dewey and Dakin, 1947; Eliade, 1954; Gould, 1987). Cycles, of course, do not have to go through preset evolutionary stages like an egg-caterpillar-chrysalis-butterfly. Cycles can be compared to upward or downward spirals or waves that vary in amplitude and frequency, or the irregular growth of a coral reef. Nonetheless, cycles appeal to the rational mind with their hind of predictability. Because people, organizations, and nations go through phases of a cycle, the next stage can be anticipated.

One of the most highly developed arguments for recurring cycles that can be easily applied to schooling has been set forth by two historians—father and son—named Arthur Schlesinger (senior and junior). Both have gone so far as to predict when things will change from one chord of a national rhythm to another (Schlesinger, 1986). I analyze their argument because the cyclical image is so deeply embedded in the minds of practitioners, researchers, and policymakers who work with the rational tradition that it is worthwhile to take one of the more popular versions and examine it.

Schlesinger argues as follows. In most democracies, economic factors such as level of unemployment and economic growth determine to a great degree who gets elected. Electoral changes produce public officials with ideas that can be labeled in this society as conservative or liberal insofar as what role the government should play in the lives of citizens. For example, liberals, in their eagerness to use government to solve social and economic problems, pile up reforms.

The first two decades of this century belonged to liberals in the progressive movement. But in the wake of World War I, reform energies flagged. Although progressive sentiment still persisted during the 1920s, the decade became overtly conservative under Presidents Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover and the "politics of public purpose gave way to the politics of private interest" (Schlesinger, 1986, p. 32). Becoming rich and pursuing what is best for each person became prized outcomes. The concern for individual interests in the 1920s evaporated with the onset of the Great Depression, when liberals acted through the federal government to minimize the worst effects of the economic disaster. Impulses to help the poor, aged, and helpless were transformed into social programs. Reform energies, however, were redirected by World War II, and they ebbed in the immediate postwar years.

In the Eisenhower years, as in the 1920s, private interests surged forward and public action receded. The search for racial justice in the 1960s triggered the next turn, when liberals under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson sought public ways of solving national ills in the New Frontier and the Great Society. By the early 1970s, Americans had experienced the trauma of Vietnam, race riots, the fall of a president, and campus violence. During the rest of the decade and into the 1980s, according to Schlesinger, return to cultivating private interests and self-gratification reached its peak in the presidency of Ronald Reagan.

What about the next decade? Because Schlesinger believes that these two-phase cycles of liberal and conservative change in values alternate every generation of 15 or more years, he predicts that liberals will return.

> At some point, shortly before or after the year 1990, there should come a sharp change in the national mood and direction—a change comparable to those bursts of innovation and reform that followed the accessions to office of Theodore Roosevelt in 1901, of Franklin Roosevelt in 1933 and of John Kennedy in 1961. (Schlesinger, 1986, p. 47).

Note that this two-phase cycle is very close to a pendulum swing—conservative to liberal and back again every decade and a half, according to Schlesinger. Whereas most biological or business cycles may have three, four, or more phases, this one has two, making it almost indistinguishable from the swing of a pendulum (Dewey and Dakin, 1974). Nonetheless, applying this cyclical explanation to schooling is common (Carnoy and Levin, 1985; James and Tyack, 1983; Kaestle, 1972, 1985; Katz, 1987; Kirst and Meister, 1985; Kliebard, 1988; Presseisen, 1985; Slavin, 1989).

To do so is easy enough if one sees the struggle over reforms as conflicts over values in both the larger society and schools. When value shifts occur in the larger society, schools accommodate. In the years when conservative values stressing private interests ran strong, for example, in the 1920s, 1950s, and 1980s, schools were concerned with producing individuals who could compete. Hence, high academic standards, orderliness, efficiency, and productivity were prized in schools. In years when politically liberal values dominated, such as the early 1900s, 1930s, and the 1960s, concerns for minorities, the poor, and other outsiders prompted school reforms that broadened student access to programs, linked schools to work in the community, and reduced academic achievement gaps between groups of students. Each political turn of the cycle left a residue within schools when the rhythm shifted.

What is appealing about this version of a value-driven two-phase cycle that accrues changes as its political rhythm shifts periodically is the power to account for both stability and change and for recurring moods of pessimism and optimism. According to Schlesinger, liberals and conservatives introduce programs that further their values and stimulate optimism; many programs disappear but some leave traces. Yet, schools have changed over the decades. Moreover, reforms do return as the cycle shifts but they wear different clothes. Stability exists amid change.

As seductive as this explanation is, still it fails to account for some of the more complex aspects of schooling. For example, take the centralizing of authority that enshrines the values of control and efficiency. Squeezing everything possible out of every tax dollar spent and making sure that it is spent properly competes with prized values of citizen participation in decisions and professional autonomy that are at the core of decentralizing authority. One could argue that these value-loaded issues are triggered by larger political and economic events and that Schlesinger's cycles even fit here. I think not.

At the turn of the century, political liberals pushed centralizing authority in school boards and professionalizing educators as a cure for inefficient school district rule. But in the 1960s, liberals pushed decentralizing authority as a remedy for distant bureaucrats who were unconcerned about what happened in each school. In the 1980s, both political liberals and conservatives have favored state-driven reforms that have made some state legislatures super school boards mandating tightly worded rules for students and teachers. Moreover, in the last few years of the same decade, both liberals and conservatives have endorsed school-site councils, school-based management, and plans that permit teachers to have a much larger voice in managing schools. In short, the political cycle of liberal-conservative, of public versus private interests, simply does not fit the evidence (Carnegie, Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986; Committee for Economic Development, 1985).

Nor do the swift changes that have swept across the educational landscape since 1945 fit shifts among political liberals and conservatives. Since the end of World War II, unrelenting criticism about inadequate school buildings, flabby curricula, slipping academic standards, and inferior teaching have appeared regularly in national and regional media. Barrage after barrage of public flak produced school reforms even before votes were counted every 2 or 4 years. Consider how both political liberals and conservatives have endorsed the effective schools movement and have pressed for new programs aimed at students labeled at risk for different yet convergent reasons. In short, on many of the issues that seized public attention and commanded policymakers' reactions, political liberals and conservatives often stood as one (Committee for Economic Development, 1985; National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983; Ravitch, 1983).

How, then, in the face of evidence that does not fit a rational explanation harnessed to political cycles, can I make sense of the periodic return of similar reforms? To broaden the historical analysis of reform over the last century, I offer alternative explanations that are basically hunches. Because there is so much uncritical reliance on the rational explanation, with its artillery of pendulum and cycle images even when counterevidence is available, few policymakers, practitioners, and researchers have explored alternative interpretations and metaphors. I want to enlarge the discussion by offering two other explanations. In the interest of full disclosure, I label both as speculative.

Value Conflicts: A Political Perspective

Many issues that reappear, such as the struggle over teacher-centered instruction, the academic and practical curriculum, and the centralizing of authority, are value conflicts. When economic, social, and demographic changes create social turmoil, public opinion shifts. Particular values receive renewed attention and get translated into policies and programs by individuals, media, interest groups, and political coalitions. Much pressure is placed on schools to align with public shifts in values. Because tensions between such competing social values as equitable income distribution and allowing individuals to accumulate wealth without restraint or between democratic participation and efficiency are already embedded in schools, they rise to the surface when external events trigger individuals and groups to voice policy differences and demand change in schools (Guthrie, 1987).

Such value differences, as they become transformed by media and political coalitions into pressure on schools to change, can seldom be removed by scientifically derived solutions. Although in this culture the value of a solution for every problem, a pill for every disease, is quite strong and highly prized, there are no antibiotics for struggles over values. Value conflicts, then, are not problems to be solved by the miracles of a science of schooling; they are dilemmas that require political negotiation and compromises among policymakers and interest groups—much like that which occurs in the larger society. There is no solution; there are only political tradeoffs.

But why do Americans turn to schools in times of social turmoil? Scholars have offered at least two answers to this question. One is that elite classes or dominant groups in the society that set directions for major social policies charge the public schools with the responsibility for solving national ills. These elite groups do so because the sources of those ills are deeply rooted in the structures of the society and, if the major problems of poverty, racism, drug addictions, and environmental destruction were addressed directly, grave upheavals in economic, social, and political institutions would occur. If schools work on these tasks, slow improvement in the next generation might happen without untoward dislocations (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Grubb and Lazerson, 1982; Katz, 1987; Perkinson, 1968).

A second answer has been the enduring faith that Americans have placed in schools as an engine of social and individual improvement. Such faith automatically turns policymakers' attention to schools as a tool of reform when social problems emerge. To Andrew Carnegie the faith was complete: "Just see wherever we peer into the first tiny springs of the national life, how this true panacea for all the ills of the body politic bubbles forth—education, education, education." Also to President Lyndon Johnson: "The answer for all our national problems comes down to one single word: education." With this faith in the power of schools to restore national health and permit social mobility, debates about school reform become, indirectly, discourses about the future of society (Cremin, 1988; Meyer, 1986; Perkinson, 1968).

Simply put, when an impulse for reform rises, crests in the larger society, and then spills over the schools, the conflicting values buried deep within schools also receive attention. The political processes already existing in a decentralized system of schooling produce interest groups and individuals perennially pressing schools to alter what they do. The values of these groups and individuals receive renewed attention for a time until public interest fades.

We are in the midst of a series of reform waves now. In the 1980s, spurred by huge deficits and fears of major economic losses to foreign markets, public and corporate officials have reasserted the values of economic efficiency and competitiveness as one to which schools must now heed. Another national crisis has been announced and the schools are rescuers of America's economic vitality. Expectations have risen. Slogans have flourished ("school-based management," "restructuring schools," and "investment in schools"), and programs are under way. Old compromises over school curricula and academic standards are being renegotiated. Change is in the air (David, 1989; Guthrie, 1985; Kearns, 1988; National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

Yet efficiency in schooling has been a golden phrase—a secular Grail—to educators for well over a century. Submerged at times but never far from the surface, the search for increased productivity with fewer resources has fueled dreams of vocational schooling for all and classroom technologies such as film, radio, and instructional television. As a result of the drive for more efficient operations, educators have borrowed repeatedly from their corporate cousins (Callahan, 1962; Cuban, 1986; Lazerson and Grubb, 1974).

The waves of intense public attention to schools reappear because these conflicting values are buried deep within the economy, political processes, and, of course, schools. When economic instability, shifts in population, and social change uncover tensions, individual champions of particular values and coalitions of interest groups surface. Media and other groups translate the unrest into recommended policies for schools to enact. Waves occur on the surface and, in some instances, programs, like the skeletons of long-dead sea animals, get deposited on the coral reef of schooling.

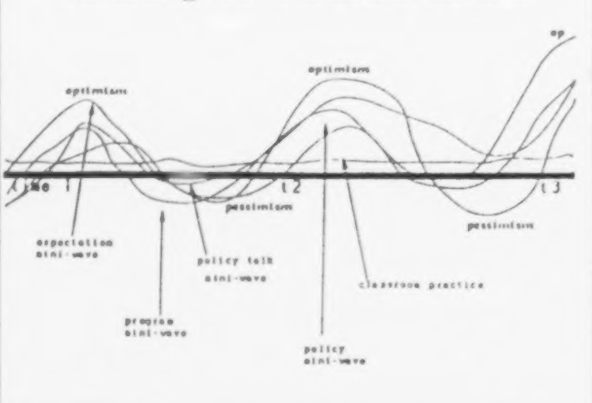
Within each series of waves breaking on the shores of public attention, there are smaller ones. There is the mini-wave of rising and falling expectations; there is the mini-wave of policy talk where new phrases are coined and become part of reformers' vocabularies only to fall into disuse; there is the mini-wave of the change process itself, where talk leads to some policies getting adopted, partially or wholly implemented, and, in the case of a few, incorporated into organizational practices. As mini-waves within the larger wave action, they overlap, often lagging behind or forging ahead of a companion mini-wave producing, over time, one large wave of public attention that comes to a close as another begins (See Figure 1) (Cuban, 1986; Downs, 1972; Kaestle, 1972; Meyer, 1986).

The alternating waves of optimism-pessimism used to span 5 to 10 or more years; however, with the spread of instant media the entire pattern, with its mini-rhythms including the final deposit of a residue in vocabulary, procedures, or an occasional program, may take a few years or even less.

But why do these waves of school reform, with their struggle over value differences, keep reappearing? I have suggested two answers: Dominant social groups getting public schools to work on national ills, rather than risking major dislocations in the society, by addressing directly major social problems; and the shared, enduring beliefs that most Americans have about schools promoting social mobility, creating national harmony, and building solid citizens. Whether as a result of the actions of dominant classes or a durable faith in the power of schooling, the consequences are the same: Policymakers turn religiously to school-based solutions for national problems. If society has an itch, schools get scratched. Or do they?

The nation has no central ministry of education. There is as yet no required national curriculum or test as there is in the rest of the world, where national governments have introduced compulsory public schooling. There is a U.S. Department of Education, but its responsibilities for funding and managing the public schools of the nation are close to nil. It defines

FIGURE 1:
Recurring Waves of School Reform



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the national interest in schooling, collects information, disburses funds to the states, sponsors research, and monitors compliance with laws. Operational responsibility rests with the 50 states. Only one (Hawaii) is a total unit. In the other 49 states, authority for operating schools is delegated to more than 15,000 school districts. With three levels of governance, any single school crisis will be viewed differently by various constituencies. In such a decentralized yet national system of schooling that encourages plural interest groups and much prodding of professionals to alter what they do, it should come as no surprise that many reforms seldom go beyond getting adopted as a policy. Most get implemented in word rather than deed, especially in classrooms. What often ends up in districts and schools are signs of reform in new rules, different tests, revised organizational charts, and new equipment. Seldom are the deepest structures of schooling that are embedded in the school's use of time and space, teaching practices, and classroom routines fundamentally altered even at those historical moments when reforms seek those alterations as the goal. The itch may be real but the stroking is gentle. Why?

Some scholars believe that recurring reforms rarely transform schools and classrooms because they were never intended to do so. These scholars argue that schools are used to solve social ills because the capitalist system is driven by ideological imperatives that permeate all institutions in the culture. Schools, whether they like it or not, are instruments to express and maintain, not alter, those ideologies. Thus, the overt and covert ways that schools are organized, the curriculum is ordered, and teachers go through their daily teaching routines are what they are supposed to be. Some reforms are for display, not fundamental change. Other reforms that strengthen prevailing beliefs do get implemented (Apple, 1977, 1982; Bernstein, 1977; Carnoy and Levin, 1985; Denscombe, 1982; Popkewitz, 1988; Willis, 1977).

Given these views, school reform rhetoric, policies, and actions are either items to be managed and packaged in such ways as to reinforce things as they are or to tinker with innovations that will leave untouched the regularities of schooling. What schools do and what teachers do in their classrooms are what they are supposed to do. They perform the social functions assigned by the reigning ideologies and elite classes. Like students, the teachers, administrators, superintendents and school boards are mere participants in a process willed by larger forces. Schools and classrooms go largely unchanged, although the noise and motion do give an appearance of fundamental reform. Scholars adhering to this view believe that fundamental school reform is, at best, a futile exercise and, at worst, a sham.

Although there is much that I have found both useful and persuasive in these views, there is also evidence that remains unexplained. For example, these scholars argue that a tight coupling exists between the society and its schools—society itches and the schools scratch—implying further that within states, districts, schools, and classrooms similarly strong linkage exists to explain why most people end up doing pretty much the same today as they did yesterday. Yet there is contrary evidence.

There have been many changes of varying dimensions and depth in school organization, facilities, governance, funding, and curriculum over the last century: the instances, infrequent though they are, when teachers and administrators have made fundamental changes in their schools and classrooms; the variations in classroom teaching and learning that exist in the same school and within the district—even after allowing for the ubiquitous commonalities; the ways that schools blunt, sidestep, and revarnish reforms imposed by others; and the impact that students and teachers have on the curriculum. All of these examples suggest that schools as institutions and practitioners, collectively and individually, take initiatives and influence their surroundings (Cremin, 1988; Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988; Hansot and Tyack, 1988; Kirst and Meister, 1985; March and Olsen, 1984; Smith, Dwyer, Prunty and Kleine, 1988; Tyack, 1974). For these reasons, I find it worthwhile to explore another perspective that builds on the political perspective of values conflict discussed above and attempts to explain why reforms recur even if they seemingly have little impact on what goes on in schools and classrooms.

Institutional Perspective

What makes schools different from nonpublic organizations is that they are tax supported and under lay governance. These two deep structural traits mark schools as unique organizations. To retain support from their constituencies who provide children and dollars, state and district systems display multiple and conflicting goals, many of which are stated ambiguously, making them most difficult to measure. Individuals and groups move in and out of the organization, participating as voters, parents, volunteers, advocates, and critics; the traffic in and out of the organization is constant. Without support from these participants and the constituent groups within its surroundings, a school district would lose its legitimacy and eventually lose its clientele (March and Olson, 1976; Meyer and Rowan, 1978; Pincus, 1972).

So school organizations try to satisfy what their constituencies believe is proper for schools. The public expects teachers to be certified to teach. The public expects that mathematics offered in the eighth grade will prepare 14-year-olds for algebra in the ninth grade. The public expects transcripts of high school graduates to be considered by colleges. The public expects a principal to be qualified to supervise a staff of 50 teachers and a superintendent to be able to put a budget together for the school board. School system policymakers, in turn, to retain the endorsement of their community, make sure that all of its personnel meet state requirements for their occupations, schools are accredited, textbooks come from state-approved lists, and third graders practice cursive writing like other third graders in nearby districts do. If a significant number of constituencies define a problem in schools as, for example, too many teenagers take drugs, before too long school authorities will have introduced a special drug program or expanded the existing one and appointed a district office coordinator for drug education. In this manner, the school organization signals external groups that it is responsive to their values. If the public loses confidence in the school organization's capacity to act like a system with these rules and classifications, political support and funding shrink swiftly (Meyer, 1980; Meyer and Rowan, 1978).

The unique organizational characteristics of this tax-supported public bureaucracy governed by lay policymakers merge with the imperative to retain the loyalty of the system's constituencies. Both help to explain schools' obvious vulnerability to pressures for change from external groups. When value conflicts arise and external pressure accelerates, both get wedded to an organizational drive for retaining the support of critical supporters; such conditions push school districts to try novel programs, join regional and national efforts to improve curriculum, and adopt innovative technologies so as to be viewed as worthy of continued endorsement The combined political and institutional perspectives also help to explain why districts in different parts of a state, region, and the nation resemble one another in structures, roles, and operations. A district or school that is substantially different from other districts or schools runs the risk of having questions raised about its credibility (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Pincus, 1972; Rowan, 1982).

But a school system is also responsible for maintaining order, instructing the young, and producing students who have learned. To ensure that the organization is both efficient and effective, the district has a bureaucracy to coordinate and control what occurs in classrooms and elsewhere in the system. If district policymakers face outward to their publics, administrators face inward. They make sure that there are tight linkages between external requirements and district rules in whether the staff meets state and local criteria for employment, the standards set by regional accreditation associations, and the proper courses necessary for students to attend prestigious colleges. District operations are tightly coupled in meeting legal requirements for bids and purchases, avoiding conflicts of interest, and spending state and federal funds. These linkages are monitored to ensure that they remain intact. Any departures from policy and procedures are scrutinized. Because these categories signal the public that the schools are really schools and are doing what they are supposed to do, careful attention is paid to these items (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988; Meyer and Rowan, 1978).

The tight coupling vanishes, however, when it comes to the core of schooling: classroom instruction. The transaction among a teacher, students, and content is the basic reason for compelling parents to send their children to school. To determine whether the goals of the district or state systems are being met in the classroom, some level of oversight and control would be expected given the importance attached to the classroom. Although there are ties between classroom and school between school and district office, there is no tight coupling here as elsewhere in the organization (Bidwell, 1965; Cuban, 1984; Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988; Meyer and Rowan, 1978).

Inspections and tests are the standard bureaucratic tools used to control what teachers do in their classrooms. But teachers work as solo practitioners, isolated from their colleagues. They teach for long periods of time without inspection from their supervisors. Administrators, who depend on teachers to achieve any degree of school effectiveness, basically trust their teachers' craft. They do formally evaluate teacher performance a few times a year, but both parties to the process report that the occasions seem ritualistic even when high stakes are involved. Virtually the same lack of inspection by superintendents, evaluation of performance, and isolation mark the lot of the principal. Similarly, superintendents, who depend on principals to achieve improved school performance, have to trust principals' judgment and skills. The bureaucratic mechanism of inspection exists on paper, but it functions more as a ritual than as a tool for coordination and control (Bidwell, 1965; Dornbusch and Scott, 1975d; Dreeben, 1973; Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988; Weick, 1976).

Testing is the other bureaucratic means for controlling what occurs in classrooms. Teachers give their students tests frequently. Most of these are teacher made or linked to textbook assignments. Seldom, if ever, are the results of these tests used to gauge teacher productivity. Although standardized achievement tests are ubiquitous, it is rare that student scores are used to assess individual teacher performance. Student scores are aggregated at the school and district levels. Because the practice of publishing test scores school by school has become fairly common in cities and many suburbs, there has been growing pressure to hold principals responsible for the school's academic performance, as measured by standardized achievement tests. Although there have been such pressures and, in particular locations, such accountability may be formalized, it has yet to become general practice. So, without either the usual bureaucratic tools of inspection or tests to determine instructional productivity, the daily delivery of instruction is virtually decoupled from administration and policymaking (Duke and Imber, 1985; Meyer and Rowan, 1978; Resnick and Resnick, 1985).

Decoupling classroom teaching from administration and policymaking in the organization occurs because policymakers and administrators need to retain the support of practitioners while maintaining the district's credibility in the eyes of the families that send children to school, citizens who pay taxes, and state and federal bureaucracies that monitor district actions, teachers, students, and others. Without credibility, there is no chance of the schools being viewed as successful. Without teachers' support, few desired outcomes can be achieved. Thus, a bargain is struck over the degree of inspection, how it is carried out, and its consequences (often encased in a contract when unions are present); infrequent and procedurally protected inspection is exchanged for teacher support (Elmore and McLaughlin, 1988; Meyer and Rowan, 1978; Weick, 1976).

Here, then, is an organizational perspective stitched together from the work of a number of researchers that begins to explain why certain school activities and teaching are insulated from externally driven pressures for fundamental changes. The decoupling of instruction from administration and policymaking achieves an autonomy and isolation that teachers find satisfying. They can introduce innovative materials designed by outside consultants, especially if they see the value of their use in class. They can alter the content they teach, even if it is mandated by a state department of education, if they already believe that the topics and content will be in the students' best interest. They also have limited freedom, drawn from their isolation as solo practitioners, to ignore and modify these directives. And they can initiate novel changes. There are limits, of course, on the extent to which principals and teachers can change what occurs in their schools and classrooms, limits set by those very same constituencies whose support of the school is needed. Choice is situationally constrained.

Concluding Comments

Since there is no persuasive explanation for the persistence of reform that goes beyond the rational explanation and 15-year cycles proposed by Arthur Schlesinger, jr., which neglected counter-evidence, I have set forth two other explanations for the reappearance of reforms. These explanations may sound plausible, but they are, after all, only claims, not facts. No body of evidence about past or current reforms yet exists to determine whether these claims have merit.

Reforms do return again, again, and again. Not exactly as before or under the same conditions, but they persist. It is of even greater importance that few reforms aimed at the classroom make it past the door permanently. It is important to policymakers, practitioners, administrators, and researchers to understand why reforms return but seldom substantially alter the regularities of schooling. The risks involved with a lack of understanding include pursuing problems with mismatched solutions, spending energies needlessly, and accumulating despair. The existing tools of understanding are no more than inadequate metaphors that pinch-hit for hard thinking. We can do better by gathering data on particular reforms and tracing their life history in particular classrooms, schools, districts, and regions. More can be done by studying reforms in governance, school structures, curricula, and instruction over time to determine whether any patterns exist. And we can do better by examining carefully the alternative explanations offered here and elsewhere and measuring them against the data. If it occurs to readers that I end with a plea for rationality, that is, serious thinking about rational and nonrational organizational behavior, so be it. If we do not heed the plea, we will continue to mindlessly speculate, and as Gide observed: "*Since nobody listens, we have to keep going back and begin again.*"

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Getting Reform Right: What Works and What Doesn't*

by Michael G. Fullan and Matthew B. Miles

After years of failed education reform, educators are more and more in the habit of saying that "knowledge of the change process" is crucial. But few people really know what that means. The phrase is used superficially, glibly, as if saying it over and over will lead to understanding and appropriate action.

We do believe that knowing about the change process is crucial. But there are as many myths as there are truths associated with change, and it is time to deepen the way we think about change. We need to assess our knowledge more critically and describe what we know. One needs a good deal of sophistication to grasp the fundamentals of the change process and to use that knowledge widely.

We also believe that serious education reform will never be achieved until there is a significant increase in the number of people—leaders and other participants alike—who have come to internalize and habitually act on basic knowledge of how successful change takes place. Reformers talk of the need for deeper, second-order changes in the structures and cultures of schools, rather than superficial first-order changes.[1] But no change would be more fundamental than a dramatic expansion of the capacity of individuals and organizations to understand and deal with change. This generic capacity is worth more than a hundred individual success stories of implementing specific innovations. As we shall see, even individual success stories don't last long without an appreciation of how to keep changes alive.

Rather than develop a new strategy for each new wave of reform, we must use basic knowledge about the do's and don'ts of bringing about *continuous improvement*. In this article we present this knowledge in the form of seven basic reasons why reform fails—and seven propositions that could lead to success.

Why Reform Fails

Schools and districts are overloaded with problems—and, ironically, with solutions that don't work. Thus things get worse instead of better. Even our rare success stories appear as isolated pockets of excellence and are as likely to atrophy as to prosper over time. We get glimpses of the power of change, but we have little confidence that we know how to harness forces for continuous improvement. The problem is not really lack of innovation, but the enormous overload of fragmented, uncoordinated, and ephemeral attempts at change.

We being with reasons why typical approaches do not work. In our view there are seven basic reasons why reforms fail. Though each one has its own form, these seven should be understood in combination, as a set.

1. Faulty Maps of Change. It's hard to get to a destination when your map doesn't accurately represent the territory you're to traverse. Everyone involved in school reform—teachers, administrators, parents, students, district staff members, consultants, board members, state department officials, legislators, materials developers, publishers, test-makers, teacher educators, researchers—has a personal map of how change proceeds. These constructs are often expressed in the form of a proposition or statement.

1. Resistance is inevitable, because people resist change.

2. Every school is unique.

3. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

4. Schools are essentially conservative institutions, harder to change than other organizations.

5. You just have to live reform one day at a time.

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6. You need a mission, objectives, and a series of tasks laid out well in advance.

7. You can never please everyone, so just push ahead with reforms.

8. Full participation of everyone involved in a change is essential.

9. Keep it simple, stupid: go for small, easy changes rather than big, demanding ones.

10. Mandate change, because people won't do it otherwise.

People act on their maps. But maps such as these don't provide reliable or valid guidance. Some, like number 1, are simply self-sealing and tautological. Others, like number 2, are true in the abstract but totally unhelpful in providing guidance. Imagine if a Michelin guide book were to tell you that "each restaurant is unique," refuse to make ratings, and tell you that you're on your own.

Some, like number 3, have the seductive appearance of truth, though they are mostly false. It stretches the bounds of credulity to say that the schools we see today are no different from those of yesteryear or that all change efforts are self-defeating. Such maps are self-defeating. At their worst, they tell us that nothing really changes—and that nothing will work. On such self-exculpatory propositions as number 4, there's simply very little evidence, and what there is leads to the verdict of "not proven."[2]

Sometimes our maps are in conflict with themselves or with the maps of colleagues. For example, number 5 advocates the virtues of improvisation, while number 6 lauds rational planning. In fact, the literature on organizational change and a recent study of major change in urban high schools show that *neither* statement is valid as a guide to successful school reform.[3] The same appears to be true for propositions 7 and 8.

Still other mapping statements are directly contradicted by empirical evidence. For example, though number 9 looks obvious, studies of change have repeatedly found that substantial change efforts that address multiple problems are more likely to succeed and survive than small-scale, easily trivialized innovations.[4]

And number 10, as attractive as it may be politically, simply doesn't work. Indeed, it often makes matters worse. You can't mandate important changes, because they require skill, motivation, commitment, and discretionary judgment on the part of those who must change.[5]

Our aim here is not to debunk all our maps. Maps are crucial. But unless a map is a valid representation of the territory, we won't get where we want to go. Later in this article, we will outline a map that, we believe, corresponds well with the real territory of change.

2. Complex Problems. Another major reason for the failure of reform is that the solutions are not easy—or even known in many cases. A number of years ago Arthur Wise labeled this problem the "hyperrationalization" of reform:

> To create goals for education is to will that something occur. But goals, in the absence of a theory of how to achieve them, are mere wishful thinking. If there is no reason to believe a goal is attainable—perhaps evidenced by the fact that it has never been attained—then a rational planning model may not result in goal attainment.[6]

The reform agenda has broadened in fundamental ways in the last five years. One need only mention the comprehensive reform legislation adopted in virtually every state and the scores of restructuring efforts in order to realize that current change efforts are enormously complex—both in the substance of their goals and in the capacity of individuals and institutions to carry out and coordinate reforms.

Education *is* a complex system, and its reform is even more complex. Even if one considers only seemingly simple, first-order changes, the number of components and their interrelationships are staggering: curriculum and instruction, school organization, student services, community involvement, teacher inservice training, assessment, reporting, and evaluation. Deeper, second-order changes in school cultures, teacher/student relationships, and values and expectations of the system are all the more daunting.

Furthermore, higher-order educational goals for all students require knowledge and abilities that we have never demonstrated. In many cases, we simply don't know how to proceed; solutions have yet to be developed. This is no reason to stop trying, but we must remember that it is folly to act as if we know how to solve complex problems in short order. We must have an approach to reform that acknowledges that we don't necessarily know all the answers, that is conducive to developing solutions as we go along and that sustains our commitment and persistence to stay with the problem until we get somewhere. In other words, we need a different map for solving complex rather than simple problems.

3. Symbols over Substance. In the RAND-sponsored study of federal problems supporting educational change, Paul Berman and Milbrey McLaughlin found that some school districts adopted external innovations for opportunistic reasons rather than to solve a particular problem. These apparent reforms brought extra resources (which were not necessarily used for the intended purpose), symbolized that action was being taken (whether or not follow-up occurred), and furthered the careers of the innovators (whether or not the innovation succeeded). Thus the mere appearance of innovation is sometimes sufficient for achieving political success.

Education reform is as much a political as an educational process, and it has both negative and positive aspects. One need not question the motives of political decision makers to appreciate the negative. Political time lines are at variance with the time lines for education reform. This difference often results in vague goals, unrealistic schedules, a preoccupation with symbols of reform (new legislation, task forces, commissions, and the like), and shifting priorities as political pressures ebb and flow.

We acknowlege that symbols are essential for success. They serve to crystallize images and to attract and generate political power and financial resources. Symbols can also provide personal and collective meaning and give people faith and confidence when they are dealing with unclear goals and complex situations.[7] They are essential for galvanizing visions, acquiring resources, and carrying out concerted action. When symbols and substance are congruent, they form a powerful combination.

Nonetheless, reform often fails because politics favors symbols over substance. Substantial change in practice requires a lot of hard and clever work "on the ground," which is not the strong point of political players. After several experiences with the dominance of symbolic change over substantive change, people become cynical and take the next change that comes along much less seriously.

Symbolic change does not have to be without substance, however. Indeed, the best examples of effective symbols are grounded in rituals, ceremonies, and other events in the daily life of an organization. While we cannot have effective reform without symbols, we can easily have symbols without effectiv reform—the predominant experience of most educators and one that all predisposes them to be skeptical about *all* reforms.

4. Impatient and Superficial Solutions. Reforms also fail because our attempts to solve problems are frequently superficial. Superficial solutions, introduced quickly in an atmosphere of crisis, normally make matters worse.[8] This problem is all the more serious now that we are tackling large-scale reforms, for the consequences of failure are much more serious.

Reforms in structure are especially susceptible to superficiality and unrealistic time lines, because they can be launched through political or administrativemandates. Two examples of opposite ends of the political spectrum provide cases in point. A recent study of the impact of statewide testing in two states found that, while new testing mandates caused action at the local level, they also narrowed the curriculum and created adverse conditions for reform:

> [C]oping with the pressure to attain satisfactory results in high-stakes tests caused educators to develop almost a "crisis mentality" in their approach, in that they jumped quickly into "solutions" to address a specific issue. They narrowed the range of instructional strategies from which they selected means to instruct their students; they

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> narrowed the content of the material they chose to present to students; and they narrowed the range of source offerings available to students.[9]

Site-based management—opposite in many ways to the strategy of centralized testing—also shows problems associated with structural reforms. Daniel Levine and Eugene Eubanks, among others, have indicated how school-based models often result in changes in formal decision-making structures but rarely result in a focus on developing instructional skills or on changing the culture of schools.[10] There are numerous other examples of new legislation and policies—career ladders, mentoring and induction policies, testing and competency requirements, and so on—being rushed into place wth little forethought about possible negative consequences and side effects.

A related bane of reform is faddism. Schools, districts, and states are under tremendous pressure to reform. Innovation and reform are big business, politically and economically. The temptation is great to latch on to the quick fix, to go along wth the trend, to react uncritically to endorsed innovations as they come and go. Local educators experience most school reforms as fads.

There are two underlying problems. One is that mistaken or superficial solutions are introduced; the other is that, even when the solution is on the right track, hasty implementation leads to failure. Structural solutions are relatively easy to initiate under the right political conditions, but they are no substitute for the hard work, skill, and commitment needed to blend different structural changes into a successful reform effort. In other words, changes in structure must go hand in hand with changes in culture and in the individual and collective capacity to work through new structures. Because education reform is so complex, we cannot know in advance exactly which new structures and behavioral patterns should go together or how they should mesh. But we do know that neglecting one or the other is a surefire recipe for failure.

5. *Misunderstanding Resistance.* Things hardly ever go easily during change efforts. Since change necessarily involves people, and people can commit willed actions, it seems natural to attribute progress that is slower than we might wish to their "resistance." Before a recent workshop, one of us asked a group of principals to list the problems they faced in a specific change project. More than half said "resistance"—variously known as intransigence, entrenchment, fearfulness, reluctance to buy in, complacency, unwillingness to alter behaviors, and failure to recognize the need for change. These traits were attributed to teachers and other staff members, though not to the principals themselves.

But it is usually unproductive to label an attitude or action "resistance." It diverts attention from real problems of implementation, such as diffuse objectives, lack of technical skill, or insufficient resources for change. In effect, the label also individualizes issues of change and converts everything into a matter of "attitude." Because such labeling places the blame (and the responsibility for the solution) on others, it immobilizes people and leads to "if only" thinking.

Change does involve individual attitudes and behaviors, but they need to be framed as natural responses to transition, not misunderstood as "resistance." During transitions from a familiar to a new state of affairs, individuals must normally confront the loss of the old and commit themselves to the new, unlearn old beliefs and behaviors and learn new ones, and move from anxiousness and uncertainly to stabilization and coherence. Any significant change involves a period of intense personal and organizational learning and problem solving. People need supports for such work, not displays of impatience.

Blaming "resistance" for the slow pace of reform also keeps us from understanding that individuals and groups faced with something new need to assess the change for its genuine possibilities and for how it bears on their self-interest. From computers across the curriculum, to mainstreaming, to portfolio assessments, to a radical change in the time schedule, significant changes normally require extra effort during the transitional stage. Moreover, there's little certainty about the kinds of outcomes that may ensue for students and teachers (and less assurance that they will be any better than the status quo). These are legitimate issues that deserve careful attention.

Many reform initiatives are ill-conceived, and many others are fads. The most authentic response to such effort is resistance. Nevertheless, when resistance is misunderstood, we are immediately set on a self-defeating path. Reframing the legitimate basis of most forms of resistance will allow us to get a more productive start and to isolate the real problems of improvement.

6. Attrition of Pockets of Success. There are many examples of successful reforms in individual schools—cases in which the strong efforts of teachers, principals, and district administrators have brought about significant changes in classroom and school practice.[11] We do not have much evidence about the durablity of such successes, but we have reason to believe that they may not survive if the conditions under which they developed are changed.

Successful reforms have typically required enormous effort on the part of one or more individuals—effort that may not be sustainable over time. For example, staff collaboration takes much energy and time to develop, yet it can disapear overnight when a few key people leave. What happens outside the school—such as changes in district policies on the selection and transfer of teachers and principals—can easily undo gains that have been made.

Local innovators, even when they are successful in the short run, may burn themselves out or unwittingly seal themselves off from the surrounding environment. Thus schools can become hotbeds of innovation and reform in the absence of external support, but they cannot *stay* innovative without the continuing support of the district and other agencies. Innovative schools may enjoy external support from a critically important sponsor (e.g., the district superintendent) or from a given agency only to see that support disappear when the sponsor moves on or the agency changes policies. Of course, the failure to institutionalize an innovation and build it into the normal structures and practices of the organization underlies the disappearance of many reforms.[12]

We suspect that few things are more discouraging than working hard against long odds over a period of time to achieve a modicum of success—only to see it evaporate in short order as unrelated events take their toll. It is not enough to achieve isolated pockets of success. Reform fails unless we can demonstrate that pockets of success add up to new structures, procedures, and school cultures that press for continuous improvement. So far there is little such evidence.

7. Misuse of Knowledge about the Change Process. The final problem is related to a particular version of faulty maps: "knowledge" of the change process is often cited as the authority for taking certain actions. Statements such as "Ownership is the key to reform," "Lots of inservice training is required," "The school is the unit of change," "Vision and leadership are critical," and so on are all half-truths. Taken literally, they can be misused.

Reform is systemic, and action based on knowledge of the change process must be systemic, too. To succeed we need to link a number of key aspects of knowledge and maintain the connections before and during the process of change. In the following section we offer seven such themes, which we believe warrant being called propositions for success.

Propositions for Success

The seven basic themes or lessons derived from current knowledge of successful change form a set and must be contemplated in relation to one another. When it comes to reform, partial theories are not very useful. We can say flatly that reform will not be achieved until these seven orientations have been incorporated into the thinking and reflected in the actions of those involved in change efforts.

1. Change Is Learning—Loaded with Uncertainty. Change is a process of coming to grips with new personal meaning, and so it is a learning process. Peter Marris states the problem this way:

> When those who have the power to manipulate changes act as if they have only to explain, and when their explanations are not at once accepted shrug off opposition as ignorance or prejudice, they express a profound contempt for the meaning of lives other than their own. For the reformers have already assimilated these changes to their purposes, and worked out a reformulation which makes sense to them, perhaps through months or years of analysis and debate. If

> they deny others the chance to do the same, they treat them as puppets dangling by the threads of their own conceptions.[13]

Even well-developed innovations represent new meaning and new learning for those who encounter them initially and require time to assimilate them. So many studies have documented this early period of difficulty that we have given it a label—"the implementation dip."[14] Even in cases where reform eventually succeeds, things will often go wrong before they go right. Michael Huberman and Matthew Miles found that the absence of early difficulty in a reform effort was usually a sign that not much was being attempted; superficial or trivial change was being substituted for substantial change.[15]

More complex reforms, such as restructuring, represent even greater uncertainty: first, because more is being attempted; second, because the solution is not known in advance. In short, anxiety, difficulties, and uncertainty are *intrinsic to all successful change*.

One can see why a climate that encourages risk-taking is so critical. People will not venture into uncertainty unless there is an appreciation that difficulties encountered are a natural part of the process. And if people do not venture into uncertainty, no significant change will occur.

Understanding successful change as learning also puts ownership in perspective. In our view, ownership of a reform cannot be achieved *in advance* of learning something new. A deep sense of ownership comes only through learning. In this sense, ownership is stronger in the middle of a successful change process than at the beginning and stronger still at the end. Ownership is both a process and a state.

The first proposition for success, then, is to understand that all change involves learning and that all learning involves coming to understand and to be good at something new. Thus conditions that support learning must be part and parcel of any change effort. Such conditions are also necessary for the valid rejection of particular changes, because many people reject complex innovations prematurely, that is, before they are in a sound position to make such a judgment.

2. Change Is a Journey, not a Blueprint. If change involved implementing single, well-developed, proven innovations one at a time, perhaps we could make blueprints for change. But school districts and schools are in the business of implementing a bewildering array of innovations and policies simultaneously. Moreover, reforms that aim at restructuring are so multifaceted and complex that solutions for any particular setting cannot be known in advance. If one tries to account for the complexity of the situation with an equally complex implementation plan, the process will become unwieldy, cumbersome, and usually unsuccessful.

There can be no blueprints for change, because rational planning models for complex social change (such as education reform) do not work. Rather, what is needed is a guided journey. Karen Seashore Louis and Matthew Miles provide a clear analysis of this evolutionary planning process in their study of urban high schools involved in major change efforts:

> The evolutionary perspective rests on the assumption that the environment both inside and outside organizations is often chaotic. No specific plan can last for very long, because it will either become outmoded due to changing external pressures, or because disagreement over priorities arises within the organization. Yet there is no reason to assume that the best response is to plan passively, relying on incremental decisions. Instead, the organization can cycle back and forth between efforts to gain normative consensus about what it may become, to plan strategies for getting there, and to carry out decentralized incremental experimentation that harnesses the creativity of all members to the change effort....Strategy is viewed as a flexible tool, rather than a semi-permanent expansion of the mission.[16]

The message is not the traditional "Plan, then, do," but "Do, then plan... and do and plan some more." Even the development of shared vision that is central to reform is better thought of as a journey in which people's sense of purpose is identified, considered, and continuously shaped and reshaped.

3. Problems Are Our Friends. School improvement is a problem-rich process. Change threatens existing interests and routines, heightens uncertainty, and increases complexity. The typical principal in the study of urban schools conducted by Louis and Miles mentioned three or four major problems (and several minor ones) with reform efforts. They ranged from poor coordination to staff polarization and from lack of needed skills to heart attacks suffered by key figures. Problems arise naturally from the demands of the change process itself, from the people involved, and from the structure and procedures of schools and districts. Some are easily solved; others are almost intractable.

It seems perverse to say that problems are our friends, but we cannot develop effective responses to complex situations unless we actively seek and confront real problems that are difficult to solve. Problems are our friends because only through immersing ourselves in problems can we come up with creative solutions. Problems are the route to deeper change and deeper satisfaction. In this sense, effective organizations "embrace problems" rather than avoid them.

Too often, change-related problems are ignored, denied, or treated as an occasion for blame and defense. Success in school reform efforts is much more likely when problems are treated as natural, expected phenomena. Only by tracking problems can we understand what we need to do next to get what we want. Problems must be taken seriously, not attributed to "resistance" or to the ignorance and wrongheadedness of others.

What to do about problems? In their study of urban schools, Louis and Miles classified coping styles, ranging from relatively shallow ones (doing nothing at all, procrastinating, "doing it the usual way," easing off, or increasing pressure) to deeper ones (building personal capacity through training, enhancing system capacity, comprehensive restaffing, or system restructuring/redesign). They found that schools that were least successful at change *always* used shallow coping styles. Schools that were successful in changing could and did make structural changes in an effort to solve difficult problems. However, they were also willing to use Band-Aid solutions when a problem was judged to be minor. It's important to note that successful schools did *not* have fewer problems than other schools—they just coped with them better.

The enemies of good coping are passivity, denial, avoidance, conventionality, and fear of being "too radical." Good coping is active, assertive, inventive. It goes to the root of the problem when that is needed.

We cannot cope better through being exhorted to do so. "Deep coping"—the key to solving difficult problems of reform—appears to be more likely when schools are working on a clear, shared vision of where they are heading and when they create an active coping structure (e.g., a coordinating committee or a steering group) that steadily and actively tracks problems and monitors the results of coping efforts. Such a structure benefits from empowerment, brings more resources to bear on problems, and keeps the energy for change focused. In short, the assertive pursuit of problems in the service of continuous improvement is the kind of accountability that can make a difference.

4. Change Is Resource-Hungry. Even a moderate-sized school may spend a million dollars a year on salaries, maintenance, and materials. And that's just for keeping schools as they are, not for changing them. Change demands additional resources for training, for substitutes, for new materials, for new space, and, above all, for time. Change is "resource-hungry" because of what it represents—developing solutions to complex problems, learning new skills, arriving at new insights, all carried out in a social setting already overloaded with demands. Such serious personal and collective development necessarily demands resources.

Every analysis of the problems of change efforts that we have seen in the last decade of research and practice has concluded that time is the salient issue. Most recently, the survey of urban high schools by Louis and Miles found that the average principal with a schoolwide reform project spent 70 days a year on change management. That's 32% of an administrator's year. The teachers most closely engaged with the change effort spent 23 days a year, or 13% of their time on reform. Since we have to keep school while we change school, such overloads are to be expected.

But time is energy. And success is likely only when the extra energy requirements of change are met through the provision of released time or through a redesigned schedule that includes space for the extra work of change.

Time is also money. And Louis and Miles discovered that serious change in big-city high schools requires an annual investment of between $50,000 and $100,000. They also found some schools spending five times that much with little to show for it. The key seemed to be whether the money simply went for new jobs and expensive equipment or was spent for local capacity-building (acquiring external assistance, training trainers, leveraging other add-on funds, and so on). Nevertheless, some minimum level of funding is always needed.

Assistance itself can be a major resource for change. It may include training, consulting, coaching, coordination, and capacity-building. Many studies have suggested that good assistance to schools is strong, sustained over years, closely responsive to local needs, and focused on building local capacity. Louis and Miles found that at least 30 days a year of *external* assistance—with more than that provided internally—was essential for success.

We can also think of educational "content resources"—such big ideas as effective schools, teaching for understanding, empowerment, and school-based management—that guide and energize the work of change. In addition, there are psychosocial resources, such as support, commitment, influence, and power. They're supposedly intangible, but they are critical for success.

The work of change requires attention not just to resources, but to "resourcing." The actions required are those of scanning the school and its environment for resources and matching them to existing needs; acquiring resources (buying, negotiating, or just plain grabbing); reworking them for a better fit to the situation; creating time through schedule changes and other arrangements; and building local capacity through the development of such structures as steering groups, coordinating committees, and cadres of local trainers.

Good resourcing requires facing up to the need for funds and abjuring any false pride about self-sufficiency. Above all, it takes willingness to invent, to go outside the frame in garnering and reworking resources. (We are reminded of the principal who used money for the heating system to pay for desperately needed repainting and renovation, saying, "I knew that, if the boiler broke, they'd have to fix it anyway.") The stance is one of steady and tenacious searching for and judicious use of the extra resources that any change requires. Asking for assistance and seeking other resources are signs of strength, not weakness.

5. Change Requires the Power to Manage It. Change initiatives do not run themselves. They require that substantial effort be devoted to such tasks as monitoring implementation, keeping everyone informed of what's happening, linking multiple change projects (typical in most schools), locating unsolved problems, and taking clear coping action. In Louis and Miles' study, such efforts occurred literally 10 times more frequently in successfully changing schools than in unchanging ones.

There appear to be several essential ingredients in the successful management of change. First, the management of change goes best when it is carried out by a *cross-role group* (say, teachers, department heads, administrators, and—often—students and parents). In such a group different worlds collide, more learning occurs, and change is realistically managed. There is much evidence that steering a change effort in this way results in substantially increased teacher commitment.

Second, such a cross-role group needs *legitimacy*—i.e., a clear license to steer. It needs an explicit contract, widely understood in the school, as to what kinds of decisions it can make and what money it can spend. Such legitimacy is partly conferred at the front end and partly earned through the hard work of decision making and action. Most such groups do encounter staff polarization; they may be seen by others as an unfairly privileged elite; or they may be opposed on ideological grounds. Such polarization—often a sign that empowerment of a steering group is working—can be dealt with through open access to meetings, rotation of membership, and scrupulous reporting.

Third, even empowerment has its problems, and cooperation is required to solve them. Everyone has to learn to take the initiative instead of complaining, to trust colleagues, to live with ambiguity, to face the fact that shared decisions mean conflict. Principles have to rise above the fear of losing control, and they have to hone new skills: initiating actions firmly without being seen as "controlling," supporting others without taking over for them. All these stances and skills are learnable, but they take time. Kenneth Benne remarked 40 years ago that the skills of cooperative work should be "part of the general education of our people."[17] They haven't been, so far. But the technology for teaching these skills exists. It is up to steering groups to learn to work well together, using whatever assistance is required.

Fourth, the power to manage change does not stop at the schoolhouse door. Successful change efforts are most likely when the local district office is closely engaged with the changing school in a collaborative, supportive way and places few bureaucratic restrictions in the path of reform.

The bottom line is that the development of second-order changes in the culture of schools and in the capacity of teachers, principals, and communities to make a difference *requires* the power to manage the change at the local school level. We do not advocate handing over all decisions to the school. Schools and their environments must have an interactive and negotiated relationship. But complex problems cannot be solved from a distance; the steady growth of the power to manage change must be part of the solution.

6. Change Is Systemic. Political pressures combine with the segmented, uncoordinated nature of educational organizations to produce a "project mentality."[18] A steady stream of episodic innovations—cooperative learning, effective schools research, classroom management, assessment schemes, career ladders, peer coaching, etc., etc.—come and go. Not only do they fail to leave much of a trace, they also leave teachers and the public with a growing cynicism that innovation is marginal and politically motivated.

What does it mean to work systemically? There are two aspects: 1) reform must focus on the development and interrelationships of all the main *components* of the system simultaneously—curriculum, teaching and teacher development, community, student support systems, and so on; and 2) reform must focus not just on structure, policy, and regulations but on deeper issues of the *culture* of the system. Fulfilling both requirements is a tall order. But it is possible.

This duality of reform (the need to deal with system components and system culture) must be attended to at both the state and district/school levels. It involves both restructuring and "reculturing."[19] Marshall Smith and Jennifer O'Day have mapped out a comprehensive plan for systemic reform at the state level that illustrates the kind of thinking and strategies involved.[20] At the school/district level, we see in the Toronto region's Learning Consortium a rather clear example of systemic reform in action.[21] Schools, supported by their districts, avoid ad hoc innovations and focus on a variety of coordinated short-term and mid- to long-term strategies. The short-term activities include inservice professional development on selected and interrelated themes; mid- to long-term strategies include vision building, initial teacher preparation, selection and induction, promotion procedures and criteria, school-based planning in a system context, curriculum reorganization, and the development of assessments. There is an explicit emphasis on new cultural norms for collaborative work and on the pursuit of continuous improvement.

Systemic reform is complex. Practically speaking, traditional approaches to innovation and reform in education have not been successful in bringing about lasting improvement. Systemic reform looks to be both more efficient and more effective, even though this proposition is less proven empirically than our other six. However, both conceptually and practically, it does seem to be on the right track.[22]

7. All Large-Scale Change Is Implemented Locally. Change cannot be accomplished from afar. This cardinal rule crystallizes the previous six propositions. The ideas that change is learning, change is a journey, problems are our friends, change is resource-hungry, change requires the power to manage, and change is systemic all embody the fact that *local* implementation by everyday teachers, principals, parents, and students is the only way that change happens.

This observation has both an obvious and a less obvious meaning. The former reminds us all that any interest in system-wide reform must be accompanied by a preoccupation with how it plays itself out locally. The less obvious implication can be stated as a caution: we should not assume that only the local level counts and hand everything over to the individual school. A careful reading of the seven propositions together shows that extra-local agencies have critical—though decidedly not traditional—roles to play. Most fundamentally, their role is to help bring the seven propositions to life at the local level.

Modern societies are facing terrible problems, and education reform is seen as a major source of hope for solving them. But wishful thinking and legislation have deservedly poor track records as tools for social betterment. As educators increasingly acknowledge that the "change process is crucial," they ought to know what that means at the level at which change actually takes place. Whether we are on the receiving or initiating end of change (as all of us are at one time or another), we need to understand why education reform frequently fails, and we need to internalize and live out valid propositions for its success. Living out the seven propositions for successful change means not only making the change process more explicit within our own minds and actions, but also contributing to the knowledge of change on the part of those with whom we interact. Being knowledgeable about the change process may be both the best defense and the best offense we have in achieving substantial education reform.

Notes

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11. Bruce Joyce et al., "School Renewal as Cultural Change," *Educational Leadership*, November 1989, pp. 70-77; Louis and Miles, op. cit.; and Richard Wallace, Paul LeMahieu, and William Bickel, "The Pittsburgh Experience: Achieving Commitment to Comprehensive Staff Development," in Bruce Joyce, ed., *Changing School Culture Through*

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12. Miles and Louis, op. cit.; and Matthew B. Miles and Mats Ekholm, "Will New Structures *Stay* Restructured?," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, 1991.

13. Peter Marris, *Loss and Change* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), p. 166.

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15. Huberman and Miles, op. cit.

16. Louis and Miles, p. 193.

17. Kenneth D. Benne, "Theory of Cooperative Planning," *Teachers College Record*, vol. 53, 1952, pp. 429-35.

18. Marshall Smith and Jennifer O'Day, "Systemic School Reform," in Susan Fuhrman and Bruce Malen, eds., *The Politics of Curriculum and Testing* (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1990), pp. 233-67.

19. "Systemic reform" is both a more accurate and a more powerful label than "restructuring" because it explicitly encompasses both structure and culture. See Andy Hargreaves, "Restructuring Restructuring: Postmodernity and the Prospects for Educational Change," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, 1991.

20. Smith and O'Day, op. cit.

21. Nancy Watson and Michael Fullan, "Beyond School District-University Partnerships," in Michael Fullan and Andy Hargreaves, eds., *Teacher Development and Change* (Toronto: Falmer Press, 1992), pp. 213-42.

22. See Peter Senge, *The Fifth Discipline* (New York: Doubleday, 1990); and Michael G. Fullan, *Productive Educational Change: Going Deeper* (London: Falmer Press, forthcoming).

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF RELEVANT RESEARCH FROM OTHER FIELDS IN EDUCATION

Teaching and Learning

Airasian, Peter W., and Mary E. Walsh, "Constructivist Cautions," *Phi Delta Kappan* 78, no. 6 (February 1997), pp. 444-449.

The authors of this article "sound a cautionary note about the euphoria surrounding constructivism," beginning by providing an overview of constructivism and discussing the reasons they believe it has been so readily accepted. The article is perhaps most useful to practitioners in the "cautions" it presents regarding the application of a constructivist perspective of knowledge/learning to teaching. These cautions are:

- There is a difference between an epistemology of learning and a well-thought-out and manageable instructional approach for implementing it.
- Constructivist instructional techniques do not provide the sole means by which students constuct meanings.
- A constructivist orientation can demand more teaching time than a nonconstructivist orientation.
- The opposite of "one-right-answer" reductionism is **not** "anything-goes" constructivism.

The authors conclude by cautioning readers that while the constructivist perspective has much to offer, implementing it will be challenging.

Angell, Ann V., "Democratic Climates in Elementary School Classrooms: A Review of Theory and Research," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 19, no. 3 (Summer 1991), pp. 241-266.

Angell focuses particularly on the relationship between classroom climate and development of citizenship outcomes among elementary students. She compares the democratic classroom climates conceptualized by Dewey, Kohlberg, and Dreikurs, Grunwald, and Pepper. Based on these conceptualizations, she concludes that the four aspects of classroom climate that influence citizenship outcomes are "peer interaction in cooperative activities, free expression, respect for diverse viewpoints, and student participation in democratic deliberations and decision making."

Angell then reviews the research on classroom climate and elementary students, finding that studies support a relationship between such outcomes as "positive sociopolitical attitudes, higher levels of moral reasoning, prosocial behavior, and sense of community in elementary classrooms" and four classroom variables that are congruent with the theory-derived aspects of classroom climate mentioned above: "democratic leadership, peer interaction in cooperative activities, free expression and respect for diverse viewpoints, and student participation in democratic deliberations."

Angell then looks briefly at why democratic classrooms are not more prevalent and, drawing on the work of Gutmann, argues that the classroom is a "vital organ of a democratic system" and encourages elementary teachers to "apply democratic principles more broadly in their classrooms."

American Psychological Association, *Learner-Centered Psychological Principles: Guidelines for School Redesign and Reform* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 1992).

This document is designed to provide guidelines for reforming education in ways that reflect psychological research on learning. Twelve psychological principles pertaining to the learner and learning are presented and briefly explained. An example of a principle is the following: "The learner seeks to create internally consistent, meaningful, and sensible representations of knowledge regardless of the quantity and quality of data available."

The document then presents—in bullet form—implications of these principles for instruction, curriculum, assessment, instructional management, teacher education, parent and community involvement, and policies regarding school redesign. An

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example of an instructional implication is the following: "Effective instruction focuses on the active involvement of students in their own learning, with opportunities for teacher and peer interactions that engage students' natural curiosity."

Banks, James A., *Educating Citizens in a Multicultural Society* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997).

This book of essays by Banks addresses the dilemma posed in its title—how to educate all young people for citizenship in a multicultural society. The book's opening chaper, "Reconstructing Citizenship Education," poses the interesting question of how to construct an authentic *unum* in a pluralistic society in which some citizens have been prevented from participating in that construction and feel alienated from the *unum*'s goals and symbols. Banks concludes that "In a democratic curiculum, students need to be taught about and have opportunities to acquire American democratic values while at the same time lerning about American realities that challenge these ideals..." After reviewing the history of the social studies curriculum, Banks argues for an approach that focuses on decision-making and social action.

In the book's second section, Banks examines "Citizenship Education and Epistemological Issues," describing the construction of theories about diverse racial and ethnic groups and the teaching and policy implications of these theories. Banks then moves to describing the five dimensions of multicultural education that he has developed: (1) content integration, (2) the knowledge construction process, (3) prejudice reduction, (4) an equity pedagogy,and (5) an empowering school culture and social structure. Special attention is given to three of these dimensions—knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, and equity pedagogy. Banks, in the book's final section, looks at how teachers, administrators, and other school staff members can be taught to model democratic behavior in their interactions. Throughout the book, Banks draws on the research on citizenship education and, particularly, in multicultural education, which he is very familiar with as the editor of the *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1995).

Bliss, Traci, "The Use of Groupwork in High School Social Studies," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 17, no. 4 (Fall 1989), pp. 304-315.

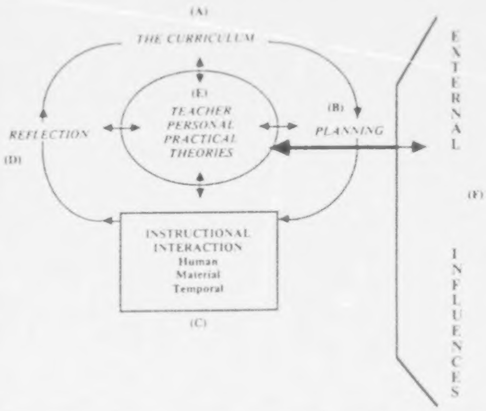
Bliss looked at conditions that "contribute to the frequency with which social studies teachers use group work," collecting data via questionnaires, interviews, observations, and document analysis. For the 43 teachers in northern California who took part in the study, two variables were particularly important in determining the frequency with which group work was used. Perhaps most important was a supportive context. Teachers with administrative support from the principal and/or department chair, at least one teaching colleague who used groups often and who was available to provide some expertise on use of groups, and strong collegial relations with other teachers were more likely to use group work frequently than teachers who worked in a setting lacking these kinds of support. Teachers who included participation skills as an important objective of their teaching were also more likely to use group work frequently than teachers who did not.

Cornett, Jeffrey W., "Teacher Thinking about Curriculum and Instruction: A Case Study of a Secondary Social Studies Teacher," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 18, no. 3 (Summer 1990), pp. 248-273.

Cornett conducted a naturalistic investigation of the personal theorizing of one teacher, generally regarded by colleagues as an effective teacher, and its impact on her decision making. He found that the teacher had five personal practical theories on which her work was based, along with two subtheories: some of the theories conflicted. These theories did influence what and how she taught, even though she thought of curriculum development as an externally imposed mandate not the decisions she made on a day-to-day basis. Prior to participating in the study, she was unaware of the role of these theories in her decision making.

Cornett cautions that the results of this research are not generalizable. However, the model (see next page) he developed may be useful in designing teacher-training activities and in working with teachers to develop reflective practice.

The Impact of a Teacher's Personal Practical Theories on Curriculum and Instruction



Garnder, Howard, "Reflections on Multiple Intelligences: Myths and Messages," *Phi Delta Kappan* 77, no. 3 (November 1995), pp. 200-209.

In this article, Gardner presents and refutes seven "myths" that have grown around his theory of multiple intelligences, particularly with respect to the theory's classroom applications. He also describes classroom uses of the theory that he has found particularly jarring. The discussion is interesting not only for the light it sheds on MI but for the perspective it gives on how research and research-based theories can be misapplied when translated into practice.

Gardner concludes the article with what he calls "three more positive ways" in which MI can be—and has been—used in the schools:

- The cultivation of desired capabilities.
- Approaching a concept, subject matter, or discipline in a variety of ways.
- The personalization of education.

Gardner, Howard, *The Unschooled Mind: How Children Think and How Schools Should Teach* (New York: Basic Books, 1991).

Gardner's book reviews a great deal of recent research on cognitive development and students' miconceptions and stereotypes, all with the aim of answering the question: "Why do members of a species who master certain concepts and skills so readily exhibit so much difficulty in obtaining the skills and understandings that school at its best strives to provide?"

The first section of the book, "The 'Natural' Learner," discusses research on cognitive development, focusing particularly but not exclusively on children before they enter school. Gardner looks especially at how intuitive understandings or theories develop, as those theories have proven to be remarkably resistant to change.

In the book's second section, Gardner aims to help readers in the process of "Understanding Educational Institutions." He presents a historical perspective on the role of the school and discusses the norms they embody. Two chapters describe studies that have shown the persistence of students' misconceptions in science and what Gardner terms stereotypes in the social sciences and humanities.

To conclude the book, Gardner adopts the "mantle of the educational reformer" and describes how our knowledge of cognitive development can be used to more effectively teach for understanding. Gardner is particularly interested in the notion of apprenticeship and the model of the interactive children's museum as educational methods, but he also suggests other approaches that can address the misconceptions and stereotypes students bring to the classroom.

Hahn, Carole L., "Gender and Political Learning," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 24, no. 1 (Winter 1996), pp. 8-35.

This article begins with a review of research on gender and political attitudes at the high school level. It then reports on a case study of two ninth-grade civics classes, conducted by Hahn to see whether gender differences found in earlier research are present in the 1990s.

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Hahn found no educationally significant gender differences on measures of political interest, efficacy, trust, confidence, media use, participation in political discussions, and intended future political activities. She noted that most students had generally low levels of interest and primarily negative attitudes toward politics and politicians. Those students (both girls and boys) with high interest in politics consume more news, talk about current events with family and friends, and are more likely to be involved in local or school politics. Students' responses indicated possible gender differences in issues of interest, with girls being more interested in social issues (e.g., abortion, education) and boys more interested in patriotic issues (e.g., military, U.S. competitiveness with other nations). Both boys and girls were supportive of women holding public office but named mostly men when asked to list public officials.

Hahn observed that gender was not dealt with as a political issue in either civics class, nor was the role of women in politics explored. While more women are mentioned in texts than was previously the case, the coverage tends not to be integrated with the main flow of the text (i.e., women and minorities are discussed in special "features").

Hahn cautions against overgeneralizing from her study and suggests further areas for research.

Harwood, Angela M., "Classroom Climate and Civic Education in Secondary School Research: Antecedents and Findings," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 20, no. 1 (Winter 1992), pp. 47-86.

Harwood provides a critical review of the research on classroom climate in social studies. Researchers in social studies have defined classroom climate and the elements of climate somewhat differently than other researchers, placing greater emphasis on the "democratic classroom" and on various forms of classroom discussion. Even within social studies, however, definitions and the variables examined have varied. Harwood suggests a number of ways in which research on classroom climate in social studies can be improved. While citing the variety of methods used and outcome variables examined as reasons that make summarizing the results of this research difficult, she does make some limited generalizations based on her review:

- The "most positive" findings link climate variables and political interest; positive climate has been consistently shown to have a positive effect on students' political interest.
- Findings related to climate and political efficacy are "similarly encouraging," showing generally positive effects. The relationship between climate and political confidence has also been shown to be positive.
- The findings related to climate and political cynicism are mixed, with studies showing increases in cynicism resulting from increased discussion and others showing declines in cynicism resulting from open climates and greater student talk. Harwood recommends that more research be done in this area.
- While research is sparse on the relationship between climate and political knowledge or behavior, there is some suggestion that climate can have effects beyond the attitudinal domain.

Harwood's conclusion is that research on classroom climate in social studies provides "glimmers of hope," but further research is needed to fully explore the complex relationships between teachers' decisions regarding the ways in which they will operate their classrooms and their effects on student attitudes, knowledge, and behavior in the civic arena.

Hepburn, Mary A., "School Climate: Research Insights for the Education of Social Studies Teachers," in *Law-Related Education and the Preservice Teacher*, Charlotte C. Anderson and David T. Naylor, eds. (Chicago: American Bar Association, 1991), pp. 41-47.

Hepburn reviews four school climate studies in depth: the Lewin, Lippit, and White mid-1930s studies on classroom climate and leadership style; the Halpin and Croft study in the 1950s, which focused on types of organizational climate; the Safe School Study in the mid-1970s, which looked at school climate and violence; and Wasserman's studies of the "just community" established by Kohlberg in an alternative high school program in the 1970s.

Based on her analysis of these studies, Hepburn suggests three areas related to school climate that should be dealt with in teacher education:

- The teacher's leadership style.
- The organization of the school.
- Attitudes and school policy.

NCSS Task Force on Standards for Teaching and Learning in the Social Studies. "A Vision of Powerful Teaching and Learning in the Social Studies: Building Social Understanding and Civic Efficacy," in *Expectations of Excellence: Curriculum Standards for Social Studies* (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1994).

Based on research and the NCSS's position on the purposes and goals of social studies, this position statement describes the "forms of teacher-student discourse and the kinds of learning activities that can promote citizen education most effectively." The task force that developed the statement identified five features that are key to powerful social studies teaching and learning:

- Social studies teaching and learning must be meaningful. Aspects of meaningfulness include teaching content that is worth learning and that is tied to students' interests and to their previous learning, instruction that emphasizes depth within appropriate breadth, and teaching for understanding and application.
- Social studies teaching and learning must be integrative—in its treatment of topics, across time and space, across the curriculum, and in teaching knowledge, skills, beliefs, values, and attitudes. In addition, the use of technology in instruction is cited as an element of the integrative nature of powerful social studies.
- Social studies teaching and learning must be value-based; that is, students must be involved in dealing with ethical dimensions of topics as well as with controversial issues. They must learn to bring critical thinking and decision-making skills to bear on ethical and policy questions that are fraught with value dimensions.
- Social studies teaching and learning must be challenging. Teachers should model "seriousness of purpose and a thoughtful approach to inquiry" and encourage students to adopt a similar habit of mind. High standards should be set for all students, and instruction should provide the tools students need to achieve those standards. Creative and critical thinking should be both required and encouraged.
- Social studies teaching and learning must be active. Instruction should provide for students to construct their own understandings, aided by a process of interactive discourse. Authentic activities—those that require construction of knowledge, critical thinking, and application of knowledge to real-world problems—should be employed. Teachers and students must develop reflective habits of mind that allow them to continually improve their teaching and learning.

Among the future challenges that the task force believes must be met in order for their vision to become reality are the need for additional research on teaching and learning and the need for improved learning resources.

Lashway, Larry. *Can Instructional Leaders Be Facilitative Leaders?* ERIC Digest No. 98 (May 1995).

This brief paper looks at two seemingly contradictory visions of school leadership—the vision of a strong school leader who boldly leads the academic program, sets goals, examines curriculum, evaluates teachers, and assesses results, and the vision of a leader who facilitates collaborative decision making. In reviewing the literature, Lashway did not find "comprehensive models that smoothly integrate facilitative processes with instructional tasks"; he did, however, find evidence that "the tasks of instructional leadership are being approached in more collaborative ways." He synopsizes work that looks at collaborative approaches to four leadership tasks: defining a school's mission, promoting a positive learning climate, providing feedback to teachers, and managing and assessing the instructional program.

Newmann, Fred M., "Student Engagement in Social Studies and Citizenship," paper presented at the annual meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies, Orlando, FL, November 20, 1988.

Newmann's paper defines engagement, enumerates factors that affect engagement, examines initial results of research related to engagement, and considers implications for instruction. Engagement, according to Newmann, is more than motivation; it can be defined "as the student's psychological investment in learning, comprehending and mastering knowledge or skills." Rather than a quality that is either present or absent, engagement should be viewed as a continuum.

Based on a review of the research on engagement, Newmann identified five general factors that influence engagement: (1) need for competence, (2) extrinsic rewards, (3) intrinsic interest, (4) social support, and (5) sense of ownership. He suggests that these factors suggest criteria for engagement that "pose formidable challenges for curriculum design." These criteria might include such questions as:

- Are we aiming toward forms of mastery that students will see as enhancing their power to understand and to affect the world around them?
- Is the knowledge likely to lead to extrinsic rewards, and can students see the connection between their mastery and these rewards?
- To what extent are the topics presented in ways that students consider intrinsically interesting and/or worthwhile?
- In what ways does the approach to learning provide students with social support for trying hard enough to risk failure and a sense of ownership of the work?

Newmann then analyzes data from several studies related to high school students' engagement in social studies and civic affairs, data that indicates engagement is low in both arenas; perhaps surprisingly, engagement in civic affairs was found to have only a weak relationship to engagement in social studies classes. Cognitive challenge was also found to be low in most social studies classes. Some social studies departments studied did successfully engage students in social studies and in cognitively challenging work; the two variables—challenge and engagement—did appear to be related. Newmann concludes by stating that "If engagement in democratic citizenship is to be an outcome of social studies education, we still have a lot of work to do."

Newmann, Fred M., "Beyond Common Sense in Educational Restructuring: The Issues of Content and Linkage," *Educational Researcher* 22, no. 2 (March 1993), pp. 4-13, 22.

Newmann argues that reforms based on various restructuring proposals will not be successful unless they have "an agenda of powerful content that gives [them] direction." While changes in organizational structures may be necessary to promote change, he argues, they are not sufficient. Also needed are a "set of *particular* commitments and competencies to guide practice." Newmann suggests four forms of commitment and competence for teachers needed to achieve meaningful reform:

- Commitment to and competence to achieve depth of understanding and authentic learning.
- Commitment to and competence to achieve success for all students.
- Commitment to and competence to achieve new roles for teachers.
- Commitment to and competence to achieve schools as caring communities.

After describing these aspects of an agenda of powerful content, Newmann describes what he terms the "linkage problem"—how all the institutions that influence education can be aligned to support that agenda. He posits that the commonsense approaches to linking these institutions are inadequate and calls for development of a theory that will address the problem.

Newmann, Fred M., ed., *Student Engagement and Achievement in American Secondary Schools* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1992).

This book presents the findings of major research conducted at the National Center on Effective Secondary Schools between 1985 and 1991. Located at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the Center staff were concerned about four particular aspects of effective secondary schooling. First, they were concerned with students who did not succeed, particularly low income minority students. Second, they believed that success should not be measured only by standardized tests; instead, they viewed reduced drop-out rates, increased enrollment in advanced classes and extracurricular activities, and completion of projects reflecting authentic academic work. Third, they believed that school improvement should be grounded in coherent theory that explains why certain approaches are more successful. Finally, they were concerned that most research ignored the critical issue of student engagement in learning.

The book reflects these concerns, particularly the focus on engagement. The book's first chapter defines engagement, talks about its significance, and outlines sources or causes of engagement that schools can promote. The next five chapters present the five major studies undertaken at the Center. These studies looked at the following issues:

- The experiences and effects of alternative programs and policies to assist at-risk students.
- How to increase higher-order thinking in social studies.
- How grouping and tracking affect students' opportunities for authentic instructional discourse.
- How organizational features of school contribute to teachers' engagement and success.
- How engagement and achievement are influenced by student experiences with the family, peer group, in extra curricular activities, and at part-time work situations.

The researchers conducted literature reviews, analyzed existing data sets, and conducted new studies of students and staff in 32 middle and 62 high schools throughout the United States.

The final chapter of the book integrates the results of the five studies, developing a four-part framework for looking at student engagement. The four factors that the researchers find to be influential are:

- School culture, including a sense of membership among students (the "culture of inclusion") and collegial professionalism among teachers.
- Curriculum and instruction that respect students' perspectives and provide opportunities for challenging work aimed at deep understanding—authentic learning, as it were.
- Organizational structure. Many kinds of changes in typical school structures can facilitate engagement—from organizing the school in communities of learners to providing flexible scheduling, lowering the number of students teachers deal with daily, providing opportunities for student work to be displayed and evaluated by the community, minimizing tracking, and more. While the researchers found a need for structural changes, their studies indicated that such change did not guarantee high levels of engagement and achievement.
- Change processes, including the school's social context, leadership, and role of external change agents.

Newmann, Fred M., and Gary G. Wehlage. "Five Standards of Authentic Instruction." *Educational Leadership* 50, no. 7 (April 1993), pp. 8-12.

Newmann and Wehlage attribute the failure of many structural reforms to the fact that these reforms are not "guided by substantive, worthwhile educational ends." They propose that such reforms be aimed toward a vision of authentic student achievement. In their view, authentic achievement has three components: (1) construction of meaning and production of knowledge, (2) using disciplined inquiry to construct meaning, and (3) production of discourse, products, and performances with value or meaning beyond demonstrating success in school.

In their study of restructuring schools, the authors observed many classrooms in which instruction did not promote authentic achievement. They therefore developed standards for authentic instruction. These standards are:

- Higher-order thinking.
- Depth of knowledge.
- Connectedness to the world beyond the classroom.
- Substantive conversation.
- Social support for student achievement.

The framework can be used as an observation or reflection tool although the effects of the framework's use on learning have not been researched.

Newmann, Fred M., and Associates, *Authentic Achievement: Restructuring Schools for Intellectual Quality* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass), 1996.

This book presents the results of the School Restructuring Study, a five-year research effort of the Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The study's central question was: Under what conditions does school restructuring promote high-quality student achievement?

The study looked at 24 schools that had adopted some aspects of restructuring advocated by reformers (e.g., site-based management, teacher teaming, sustained student advisory groups, school choice); elementary, middle, and high schools were included in the study. In his preface to the book, Newmann characterizes the study's findings as good news, bad news, and complex news. He explains: "The good news is that school restructuring can elevate the quality of teaching and student achievement, and in ways that benefit all students, regardless of socioeconomic status, gender, race, or ethnicity. The bad news is that high-quality teaching and student achievement are still relatively rare, even in schools that have accomplished substantial restructuring. The complex news is that to make restructuring work for students, schools and the external agencies that influence them (districts, states, and reform organizations) must learn how to use structural innovation to develop certain cultural qualities. We found that a sustained, schoolwide concentration on the intellectual quality of student learning and a schoolwide professional community among the staff were the keys to successful restructuring."

The book's first chapter presents standards for high-quality, or authentic, instruction, assessment, and student achievement, developed and used by the project staff. The second chapter documents the study's finding that when teaching met these standards, students of varying social backgrounds, races, classes, and genders achieved at higher levels. Chapters 3 through 5 present case studies of six schools in the study—two at each level. These case studies illustrate both successes and problems in restructuring to achieve higher achievement.

The remainder of the book is devoted to explaining why some schools were able to use restructuring to support achievement, while others were not. Part of the explanation focuses on the extent to which restructuring aims at two central ideas: "advancing the intellecutal quality of student learning and the nurturing of professional community." The second part of the explanation focuses on how restructuring interacts with "human resources and cultural qualities of schools." In this part of the explanation, the researchers look at how cultural and structural features affect four practical challenges in restructuring: "(1) how to build a climate of support for student achievement, (2) how to offer high-quality pedagogy to all students, (3) how shared decision making can strengthen pedagogy, and (4) how external agents can assist schools."

To summarize, according to Newmann, "The key to authentic student achievement is to create a coherent integration of cultural and structural conditions that keep schools focused in a sustained way on intellectual quality and professional community. These, in turn, support more authentic pedagogy and authentic student achievement."

Onosko, Joseph J., "Exploring the Thinking of Thoughtful Teachers," *Educational Leadership* 49, no. 7 (April 1992), pp. 40-43.

Onosko reports on a study in which the thinking of 10 teachers who were identified as outstanding in promoting students' higher order thinking (through extensive classroom observations) were compared with their less-than-outstanding peers. Categorizing of teachers was based on the extent to which observations showed that (1) there was sustained examination of a few topics rather than superficial coverage of many, (2) lessons displayed coherence and continuity in their treatment of content, (3) students were given enough time to prepare responses to questions, (4) the teacher asked challenging questions or created challenging tasks, (5), the teacher modeled thoughtfulness, and (6) students explained and justified their conclusions. The analysis indicated that outstanding teachers differed from their less successful colleagues in terms of their instructional goals, their commitment to depth of coverage, their perceptions of students, and their conceptions of thinking. The author concludes that efforts to place greater emphasis on higher order thinking cannot focus simply on techniques but must also help teachers become more thoughtful about their practice and reconceptualize some aspects of their teaching.

Powell, Richard R., "Epistemological Antecedents to Culturally Relevant and Constructivist Classroom Curricula: A Longitudinal Study of Teachers' Contrasting World Views," *Teaching and Teacher Education* 12, no. 4 (1996), pp. 365-384.

Powell conducted a four-year study of how two teachers' prior experienes, beliefs about knowledge, and schooling contexts influence their ability to implement culturally relevant, constructivist classroom curricula. The article begins with a review of previous research on how teachers' world views influence their teaching. Powell then describes his study, in which he followed two teachers through their final year of preservice training, their student teaching, and the first two years' of their teaching careers. Both teachers studied were entering teaching as a second career, but the two held vastly differing views—one seeing knowledge as positivist, the other taking a much more subjectivist approach. Through extensive interviews and observations, Powell found evidence to support the important relationship between world view and class climate. An objectivist perspective, he found, tended to interfere with the teacher's ability to connect content to students' lives. Based on his research, he poses challenges for teacher educators to consider.

Prawat, R.S., "Teachers' Beliefs About Teaching and Learning: A Constructivist Perspective," *American Journal of Education* 100, no. 3 (May 1992), pp. 354-395.

Many people have written that constructivism is at odds with common teacher beliefs about teaching and learning. Prawat explores this incongruity by identifying four beliefs that are common among teachers and require change in order for a teacher to adopt a constructivist view:

- Many teachers see the learner and the content as separate and fixed entities.
- Many teachers have adopted a "naive" constructivism, seeing activity as equivalent with learning.
- Many teachers believe that learning should be separated from application, understanding, and problem solving.
- Many teachers see the curriculum as a fixed agenda to be covered.

Interestingly Prawat points out that a constructivist view of learning is better defined than a constructivist view of teaching. He also highlights how today's reforms are different from the reforms of the 1960s in terms of the epistemological assumptions on which they rest.

Torney-Purta, Judith, "Schema Theory and Cognitive Psychology," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 19, no. 2 (Spring 1991), pp. 189-210.

Torney-Purta provides an overview of schema theory and the research from cognitive psychology that underlies this theory. She then discusses how these relatively new insights into learning can be used to improve social studies education. She focuses particularly on how teachers can assess and teach to correct misconceptions and naive social theories. A technique that appears to be of particular use is concept mapping. Torney-Purta also suggests conceptualizing differences among children of different ages according to cognitive processes and structures. The article ends with a discussion of anticipated difficulties in implementing the author's recommendations.

VanSledright, Bruce A., and S.G. Grant, "Citizenship Education and the Persistent Nature of Classroom Teaching Dilemmas," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 22, no.3 (Summer 1994), pp. 305-339.

Through interviews and extended classroom observations, VanSledright and Grant examined three elementary teachers' views of citizenship education, as well as their pedagogical approaches to developing citizenship skills and knowledge. Their research indicated that while each teacher's expressed views on citizenship did affect her approach, the approach of each particular teacher still varied from lesson to lesson and even within lessons. The authors concluded that each teacher's responses to various teaching dilemmas determined what opportunities related to citizenship actually occurred in the classroom. Three sets of interrelated dilemmas are identified as important:

- "Curricular Design. Who will decide the learning opportunities provided to children in the classroom? What role do teachers have in this process vis-a-vis district policies, curriculum developers, and other colleagues? How do teachers read the context of their teaching environment (school, community), and how does that influence their own personal educational philosophies concerning citizenship?
- Classroom authority. Who should have the authority to decide which learning opportunities are most appropriate? How much authority should students, teachers, principals, and district policies have in making choices?
- Classroom Management. How should the classroom be controlled or managed? How much democracy can elementary schools (or middle and secondary schools) tolerate and still accomplish their goals and purposes? Should the purpose of schooling involve transmission of citizenship ideals, or critical, reflective democracy, or something else?"

Because of the ways in which many elementary teachers feel constrained to resolve these dilemmas in their classroom, the authors suggest that an approach to citizenship education that is constructive (i.e., one in which students learn actively, demonstrate independence and responsibility, and take a critical, questioning stance) may be difficult to implement at the elementary level.

Teacher Collegiality and Development

Darling-Hammond, Linda, "The Quiet Revolution: Rethinking Teacher Development," *Educational Leadership* 53, no. 6 (March 1996), pp. 4-10.

Darling-Hammond discusses the changes in professional development that have occurred as educators have realized that teacher knowledge is critical for educational improvement. She describes several efforts aimed at transforming teaching: redesigning preservice preparation programs, rethinking professional development, and involving teachers in research, collaborative inquiry, and standard-setting. She then discusses barriers to change and argues for greater investment in teacher learning.

Darling-Hammond, Linda, and Milbrey W. McLaughlin, "Policies that Support Professional Development in an Era of Reform," *Phi Delta Kappan* 76, no. 8 (April 1995), pp. 597-604.

This article makes the case that acquisition of new skills and knowledge—the goals of most teacher-training programs—is not sufficient to enable teachers to implement the vision of teaching and learning embodied in current reforms. The authors examine new forms of teacher education that support teachers' professional growth in ways consistent with current reform efforts. These forms include professional development schools; school/university collaborations in curriculum development, reform, or research; various kinds of teacher-to-teacher and school-to-school networks; partnerships with neighborhood-based youth organizations; school-based research; peer evaluation and coaching.

Darling-Hammond and McLaughlin also make the case that the context in which teachers work must be changed to support new visions of teaching and learning. They describe how various kinds of policies affect professional development of teachers and argue that "recognition of the embeddedness of education policy domains must precede the creation of a new model for professional development." They suggest that policies be evaluated using such questions as:

1. Does the policy reduce the isolation of teachers, or does it perpetuate the experience of working alone?

2. Does the policy encourage teachers to assume the role of learner, or does it reward traditional "teacher as expert" approaches to teacher/student relations?

3. Does the policy link professional development opportunities to meaningful content and change efforts, or does it construct generic inservice occasions?

4. Does the policy establish an environment of professional trust and encourage problem solving, or does it exacerbate the risks involved in serious reflection and change and thus encourage problem hiding?

Fullan, Michael, and Andy Hargreaves, eds., *Teacher Development and Educational Change* (Washington, DC: Falmer Press, 1992).

The title of this book highlights the relationship that concerns its editors. In their introductory chapter, Fullan and Hargreaves discuss what they call the innovation-focused period of research focused on teacher training and change, in which researchers looked at how teacher training supported implementation of a specific innovation. In this phase of research, which began in 1975, researchers found that teacher training should be related to the innovation, should be continuous, and should combine formal and informal learning opportunities. Researchers also found that much teacher training was unsuccessful in sustaining innovation.

Because schools and teachers today are dealing with multiple innovations, Fullan and Hargreaves call for a broader perspective, one that considers the total teacher and the total school. The authors see four elements that must be studied if educators are to understand the relationship between teacher development and educational change:

- The teacher's purpose.
- The teacher as a person.
- The real-world context in which the teacher works.
- The culture of teaching.

Subsequent chapters in the book present research that helps conceptualize the relationship between professional develoment and change in this broader way. The chapters are organized into four areas: (1) studies of individual teacher experience and development, (2) studies of school-level conditions for professional development, (3) research on policy issues, and (4) research on the effectiveness of school district/university partnerships.

Little, Judith Warren, "Teachers' Professional Development in a Climate of Educational Reform," *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* 15, no. 2 (Summer 1993), pp. 191-151.

Little makes a case for the inadequacy of the dominant model of teacher training to reach the "ambitious visions of teaching and schooling embedded in present reform initiatives." She examines the challenges posed by five "streams" of reform—reforms in subject matter teaching, reforms centered on equity for a diverse student population, reforms related to assessment of student learning, reforms in the social organization of schooling, and reforms in the professionalization of teaching—and illuminates the problem of fit with the training model and the resource allocations for professional development.

Little goes on to argue that professional development needs to "deepen the discussion, open up the debates, and enrich the array of possibilities for action." Based on an analysis of innovations that take the complexities of reform into account, she posits six design principles for teachers' professional development:

1. Professional development offers meaningful, intellectual, social, and emotional engagement with ideas, with materials, and with colleagues both in and out of teaching.

2. Professional development takes explicit account of the contexts of teaching and the experience of teachers.

3. Professional development offers support for informed dissent.

4. Professional development places classroom practice in the larger contexts of school practice and the educational careers of children.

5. Professional development prepares teachers (as well as student and their parents) to employ the techniques and perspectives of inquiry.

6. The governance of professional development ensures bureaucratic restraint and a balance between the interests of individuals and the interests of institutions.

Newmann, Fred M., Joseph Onosko, and Robert B. Stevenson, "Staff Development for Higher Order Thinking: A Synthesis of Practical Wisdom," *Journal of Staff Development* 11, no. 3 (Summer 1990), p. 48-55.

To synthesize the practical wisdom of staff developers experienced in working with high school teachers to increase emphasis on higher order thinking, the authors of this article interviewed 25 people with such experience. The most common goals reported were improving classroom practice by providing teachers with specific instructional techniques and practices, helping teachers write curriculum incorporating thinking, and developing teachers' own understanding of thinking. The staff developers interviewed used similar training activities, particularly involving teachers in higher order thinking and helping them translate new ideas into classroom activities. Providing time for discussion among teachers—especially as a means of developing their own goals and strategies—was stressed by most of the staff developers interviewed.

The interviewees cited several barriers to staff development for higher order thinking. The barriers generally fell into three categories: (1) teachers' existing practice, attitudes, and knowledge, (2) the demands of the curriculum or assessment procedures that stress lower level thinking, and (3) the lack of time and organizational support for teaching that focuses on higher order thinking.

"Professional Development," special section of *ERIC Review* 3, no. 3 (Winter 1995).

This special section of *ERIC Review* contains a number of useful articles on staff development for teachers. Dennis Sparks discusses the "Paradigm Shift in Staff Development," examining the effects on staff development of three powerful ideas: results-driven education, system thinking, and constructivism. Mary E. Dilworth and David G. Imig profile teachers in the 1990s, describe current expectations for performance and development, and highlight new models for preparation, induction, and development. Other articles look at organizations and procedures aimed at providing advanced certification of teachers, describe the role of professional development schools, and list resource organizations for professional development.

Richardson, Virginia, "Significant and Worthwhile Change in Teaching Practice," *Educational Researcher* 19, no. 7 (October 1990), pp. 10-17.

Richardson focuses on two questions: What is involved in bringing about significant and worthwhile change in teaching practices? How can or should research aid in this process.

To begin answering these questions, she looks at two bodies of research not usually examined together—research on teacher change and research on learning to teach. In her review, she notes that the two bodies of literature have different foci. The research on teacher change tends to look at the importance of the organization and its role in the change process and also identifies particular activities that teachers "should" implement; an implicit desire to control what teachers do exists. In contrast, the learning to teach literature looks at the individual teacher and is generally descriptive, rather than prescriptive, and values reflection, autonomy, and the "craft knowledge" of the teacher.

Richardson then describes a research project she conducted, which looked at why teachers do not use research on reading. This study indicated that teachers do, in fact, change their practice almost continually. However, practices were rarely implemented because of what theory or research indicated about their effectiveness. Richardson observed, "The filtering of a research-based practice through the teacher's personality and/or belief system seemed to alter the practice quite dramatically, such that it could no longer really be viewed as the same practice." Teachers had difficulty deriving sense from descriptions of research-based practices because they did not take into account contextual factors that were of great importance to them (e.g., management issues, school district demands, perceptions of other staff members and parents, characteristics of students). Little of the conversation that occurred in staff development activities focused on theory and its relation to individual beliefs and practices.

The major implication Richardson draws from this work is that teachers need "opportunities...to interact and have conversations around standards, theory, and classrooms activities." In such conversations, "research becomes one basis for the development of warranted practices with which teachers may experiment in their classrooms."

Showers, Beverly, Bruce Joyce, and Barrie Bennett, "Synthesis of Research on Staff Development: A Framework for Future Study and a State-of-the-Art Analysis," *Educational Leadership* 44, no. 3 (November 1987), pp. 77-87.

Showers, Joyce, and Bennett review 30 years of research on staff development. Their meta-analysis of the research led them to the following conclusions:

- What the teacher *thinks* about teaching determines what the teacher *does* when teaching. In training teachers, therefore, we must provide more than "going through the motions" of teaching.
- "Almost all teachers can take useful information back to their classrooms when training includes four parts: (1) presentation of theory, (2) demonstration of the new strategy, (3) initial practice in the workshop, and (4) prompt feedback about their efforts."
- "Teachers are likely to keep and use new strategies and concepts if they receive coaching (either expert or peer) while they are trying the new ideas in their classrooms."
- "Competent teachers with high self-esteem usually benefit more from training than their less competent, less confident colleagues."
- "Flexibility in thinking helps teachers learn new skills and incorporate them into their repertoires of tried and true methods."
- "Individual teaching styles and value orientations do not often affect teachers' abilities to learn from staff development."
- "A basic level of knowledge or skill in a new approach is necessary *before* students can "buy in" to it."
- "Initial enthusiasm for training is reassuring to the organizers but has relatively little influence upon learning."
- "It doesn't seem to matter where or when training is held, and it doesn't really matter what the role of the trainer is (administrator, teacher, or professor). What does matter is the training design."
- "Similarly, the effects of training do not depend on whether teachers organize and direct the program, although social cohesion and shared understandings do facilitate teachers' willingness to try out new ideas."

Sparks, Dennis, and Stephanie Hirsh, *A New Vision for Staff Development* (Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, and Oxford, OH: National Staff Development Council, 1977).

Sparks and Hirsh identify several major shifts in the nature of staff development that are shaping current staff development practices:

- From individual development to both organizational and individual development.
- From piecemeal efforts to staff development activities that support a clear strategic plan.
- From a focus on the district's perceived needs to the school's needs.
- From a focus on satisfying teachers to a focus on what kind of staff development will change teacher behavior in a way that meets student needs and improves learning.
- From off-site training to staff development embedded in the teaching act itself.
- From a knowledge transmission model to an in-depth study model.
- From a focus on generic teaching skills to a combination of generic and discipline-specific skills.
- From a training orientation to a consultation, planning, and facilitation orientation.
- From the idea of staff development as a service provided by a limited number of people or departments to the understanding that staff development is a critical function performed by all administrators and teacher leaders.
- From a focus only on teachers to a focus on continuous improvement for all who affect student learning.
- From the view of staff development as a frill, often cut in belt-tightening times, to a view of staff development as critical to schools.

The authors provide a chapter on each of these shifts, providing examples and references supporting the shift and illustrating what the shift means in practice.

Sparks-Langer, Georgea Mohlman, and Amy Berstein Colton, "Synthesis of Research on Teachers' Reflective Thinking," *Educational Leadership* 48, no. 6 (March 1991), pp. 37-44.

Sparks-Langer and Colton review the research on teachers' reflective thinking, focusing on three elements: (1) the cognitive element (how teachers process information and make decisions), (2) the critical element (the experiences, goals, and values that influence teacher thinking, and (3) teachers' narratives (how teachers interpret events). Based on this review, the authors derived five implications:

- "Teacher educators can foster growth in cognitive reflection through micro-teaching with post-teaching reflection journals, teaching with self-analysis of video/audiotapes, action research observation and analysis of selected teaching episodes, coaching, and assessment and discussion of student learning."
- "Critical reflection may be promoted through close examination of cases that illustrate particular aspects of context, pedagogy, content, ethical/moral dilemmas, and other elements of teaching and learning that will help teachers develop a rich, flexible repertoire of ideas, attitudes, and skills."
- "Teachers need opportunities to construct their own narrative context-based meaning from information provided by research, theoretical frameworks, or outside experts."
- "A person's preconceptions of teaching, learning, and the purposes of schooling will influence greatly how he or she interprets courses, workshops, and personal teaching esperiences. These beliefs must be examined critically from various perspectives to allow for a flexible and thoughtful approach to teaching."
- "Future research needs to explore how teachers interpret, give meaning to, and make decisions about their experiences in schools. Teachers themselves will need to be included as co-investigators in such research."

Tafel, Linda, and Albert Bertani. "Reconceptualizing Staff Development for Systemic Change." *Journal of Staff Development* 13, no. 4 (Fall 1992), pp. 42-45.

Based on their personal experience as change agents, on research on professional development, and on systems theory, the authors propose a "working with" teaching model of staff development rather than the traditional "working on" model. They contrast the assumptions of the two models and present the foundations of the "working with" model:

- Those planning staff development activities must devote time to learning about the school, its characteristics, people, and processes.
- People's assumptions about the change process are inextricably connected to the success or failure of change efforts.
- Individual and organizational change are at the heart of school change/restructuring and must be addressed simultaneously.
- Systemic change is a complex process that involves several simultaneous subprocesses.
- Maintaining change takes enormous amounts of time and energy and is difficult.
- Change and growth may or may not be related to the competencies of the staff developer.
- Change is possible even in closed systems.
- Careful monitoring and benchmarking of change can keep change efforts on track.
- Change is institutionalized through interdependence among all collborators.

Wood, Fred H., and Steven R. Thompson. "Assumptions About Staff Development Based on Research and Best Practice." *Journal of Staff Development* 14, no. 4 (Fall 1993), p. 52-57.

Wood and Thompson describe the assumptions one would infer from studying current practice in staff development (e.g., teachers are the only ones who need to improve their practice). These assumptions stand in stark contrast to the "new" assumptions the authors then present, derived from research on staff development, adult learning, shared leadership, effective schools, and the change process. Examples of these asumptions (of which there are 14 in all) include:

- The school, not the district, is the primary focus of improved practice and staff development.
- Significant change in educational practice takes considerable time and is the result of staff development conducted over several years.
- A school culture supportive of improved practice is essential to successful staff development.

- Staff development should enable school personnel to improve practice in ways that improve student learning.
- Staff development should support instructional and program improvement and be closely linked to instructional supervision, teacher evaluation, and curriculum implementation.

Educational Change and Administrative Support

Anderson, Lorin W., and Shirley J. Robert, "High School Principals and School Reform: Lessons Learned from a Statewide Study of Project Re: Learning," *Educational Administration Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (August 1995), pp. 405-523.

Anderson and Robert framed their study in the following way: What is the role of the school principal in providing the leadership needed for the proper exploration and implementation of Project Re: Learning (a project of Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools). The study initially included 15 schools and involved questionnaires, interviews, and shadowing.

The article begins with a review of the literature on leadership and educational change. The authors then present a conceptual framework that shows community and district factors and external factors as being influences on the principal, who in turn influences school-related factors and classroom-related factors.

In the study, Anderson and Robert identified six types of administrators: the absent administrator, the pawn, the pragmatic principal, the enthusiastic buffer, the catalyst, and the implementer. They also identified six general findings based on their research:

- The conceptual framework was generally supported by the study.
- Half of the administrators studied conformed to the conceptualization of the principal advocated by the Coalition; these administrators fell into three types—the enthusiastic buffer, the catalyst, and the implementer.
- The likelihood of success in implementing this reform appears to rest with the principal.
- Principals in different settings must assume different roles to ensure success; all must focus more on "peoplework," less on paperwork.
- For researchers and reformers to understand the relationship between principals and reform, they must understand the principals' fears and aspirations.

Fullan, Michael, *Change Forces: Probing the Depths of Educational Reform* (New York: Falmer Press, 1993).

In *Change Forces*, Fullan—one of the leading writers on educational change—distills learnings from research on change and presents his own perspective on the change process. In the book's first chapter, Fullan presents an introduction to "The Problem and the Potential of Educational Change." He then looks at the connection between moral purpose and change agentry, a connection that is vital to his view of meaningful reform.

The third chapter of the book focuses on the complexity of the change process and makes many of the points made in the Fullan and Miles article reproduced earlier in this volume. In the fourth and fifth chapters, Fullan looks at the school as a learning organization and the relationship of the learning organization to its environment; this discussion includes an examination of the role of external change agents in the change process.

The sixth chapter examines teacher education, which Fullan calls the "best solution and worst problem in education today." He describes how continuous teacher education can produce teachers who are moral change agents. Fullan concludes the book by examining the role of the individual in the change process, describing characteristics of educational institutions we want and strategies for developing those kinds of institutions.

Goertz, Margaret E., and others, *Systemic Reform, Volume I: Findings and Conclusions* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 1996).

Goertz and her associates present the findings of a study focused on reforms originating at the state level. The study sought to (1) expand knowledge of

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state approaches to systemic education reform, (2) examine responses (district, school, and teacher) to state reform policies, (3) identify challenges to reforming education, at the state, district, school, and classroom levels, and (4) provide guidance to policymakers in developing and implementing reform policies.

The researchers conducted in-depth case studies of six school districts in three states undertaking systemic reforms—California, Michigan, and Vermont. Findings of the study include the following:

- Coherence among the elements of state education policy appears to facilitate reform at the local level.
- Communication about the reform agenda must be multi-directional (i.e., it cannot come only from the state to districts).
- Time is required for educators to learn the content and pedagogical skills required to implement a reform and for institutions to change.
- Reform goals may need to be tempered with knowledge of current practice.
- Efforts to ensure equity must be deliberate, consistent, and pervasive.
- Professional development activities must consider both organizational and individual needs and must involve teachers and administrators at multiple levels.
- Attention should be given to building capacity among external stakeholders.

Grant, S. G., "Locating Authority Over Content and Pedagogy: Cross-Current Influences on Teachers' Thinking and Practice," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 24, no. 3 (Summer 1996), pp. 237-272.

As part of a multi-year study of the relationships between reform efforts and school/classroom practice, Grant looked at what social studies teachers say influences their practices, how influences interact, and what makes an influence authoritative. Eleven elementary, middle, and high school teachers in two districts—one urban and one suburban—were interviewed, their classrooms were observed, and their materials and assignments were analyzed.

Grant found that teachers cite all of the following as important in determining their classroom practices: personal influences (e.g., personal knowledge and beliefs, experiences, professional relationships), organizational influences (e.g., organizational culture, nature of bureaucratic work, influence of teaching peers), and policy influences (e.g., curriculum frameworks, textbooks, tests). Grant also found that these various influences "interact in myriad ways...such that questions of what counts as an influence and what authority influences carry continue to be problematic." Grant summarizes by stating that "teachers' content and pedagogical decisions develop in contexts which they help shape and, in turn, are shaped by." Thus, the effects of a particular reform effort are virtually impossible to predict without detailed understanding of each context in which the reform is to be implemented.

King, M. Bruce, "Leadership Efforts that Facilitate Classroom Thoughtfulness in Social Studies," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 19, no. 4 (Fall 1991), pp. 367-390.

King looks at the influence of department chairs and principals on the teaching of thinking in high school social studies. From 16 high schools being studied as part of the Project on Higher Order Thinking in the High School Curriculum of the National Center on Effective Secondary Schools (located at the University of Wisconsin-Madison), King identified the three schools that were most successful in promoting classroom thoughtfulness, as well as the four schools least successful in doing so. He then compared leadership activities at those schools in terms of efforts in three general areas: goals, curriculum, and pedagogy.

King's analysis indicated important differences between leadership in the top and bottom schools. At the top schools, leadership "was directed at systematic progam development for the promotion of higher order thinking within the social studies department," with activities aimed at developing a shared vision of higher order thinking, group work to develop curriculum supporting that vision, and ongoing reflective discussions among staff on their progress in meeting their goals. Strong departmental leadership was a key to the success of these schools.

At the bottom schools, there was no systematic effort to promote higher order thinking.

King compared his findings to several statements about leadership commonly found in the literature. Three common claims—(1) leadership must be shared among principals, assistant principals, department chairs, and teachers, (2) leaders must attend to both instruction and the culture of the school, (3) leaders should stimulate discourse about teaching and learning and encourage reflection—were confirmed by this study. A fourth common claim—that the principal is a critical initiator and supporter of change—was confirmed in part; the principal's role as a supporter of change was important at the successful schools, but the change was initiated within social studies departments, suggesting that the principal need not be the initiator of change.

MPR Associates, *Fitting the Pieces: Studies of Education Reform* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1997).

The authors analyzed twelve reform efforts for the U.S. Department of Education. Their analysis revealed eight ingredients essential to ensuring the success of reform efforts:

- Leadership—strong leaders are needed to carry a reform over a period of time.
- Goals—a shared vision is necessary to gaining support and to sharing responsibility for action and decision making.
- Timing—true change does not happen quickly.
- Training—reforms often require fundamental changes in what individuals—particularly teachers do. Thus, training is critical to ensuring they have the knowledge and skills required.
- Flexibility—the reform must allow for adaptations/corrections based on local needs and strengths.
- Infrastructure—communication throughout the organization(s) involved in the reform is critical to ensuring that support and cooperation are available to those implementing the reform.
- Managing resources—resources (i.e., money) are required to make change happen. Many who have successfully made changes were proactive in finding and using resources.
- Self-assessment—reform is a continuous process that requires participants to reflect on their progress and make additional changes based on that progress.

The authors conclude: "Ultimately, reform is about collaboration and collegiality, on gathering a core group of people together to agree on a particular approach to improving education and learning."

Newmann, Fred M., M. Bruce King, and Mark Rigdon, "Accountability and School Performance," *Harvard Educational Review* 67, no. 1 (Spring 1997), pp. 41-74.

Reform efforts spearheaded by policymakers are often based on the belief that strong external accountability will lead to improved student achievement. The authors of this article examined four aspects of accountability in 20 schools that were part of the School Restructuring Study; these aspects of accountability are information about the organization's performance, standards for judging the quality or degree of success of the organization's performance, significant consequences for success or failure, and an agent or constituency that receives information on performance, makes judgments on whether standards have been met, and distributes rewards and sanctions.

The results of the authors' analysis suggest that the relationship between strong external accountability and achievement is more complex than often posited. Their data indicate that many schools do not have strong accountability systems. Organizational capacity was not related to accountability. Schools with strong external accountability tended to have low organizational capability, while schools with strong internal accountability tended to have higher organizational capability. Although the study design limits generalizability of the results, they do suggest that external accountability alone is not enough to achieve reform; internal accountability and organizational capacity should be attended to as well.

Quellmalz, Edys, and others, *School-Based Reform: Lessons from a National Study* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 1996).

This guide presents the results of a congressionally mandated study of Effective Schools Programs. Data was collected through a mail survey of 1,550 school districts, telephone interviews with state department of education personnel in all 50 states, and case studies of reform efforts in 32 schools in California, Connecticut, Kentucky, South Dakota, and Washington.

The study indicated that school-based reform was successful when there was a clear focus on providing students with more challenging learning experiences, a school culture that supported teacher collaboration and shared decision making, and opportunities for teachers and administrators to take part in professional development activities.

The book concludes with "how-tos" for undertaking school-based reform, based on the "lessons learned" from the study.

Schweiker-Marra, Karyn E., "The Principal's Role in Changing School Culture and Implementing School Reform," *ERS Spectrum* 13, no. 3 (1995), pp. 3-11.

Schweiker-Marra describes a study examining how two elementary school principals influenced such school-culture norms as collegiality, experimentation, high expectations, and honest communication during periods of curriculum change. The case studies indicated that both promotional and facilitative administrative styles could be effective in influencing these cultural norms in a positive way.

Thornton, Stephen J., "Teacher as Curricular-Instructional Gatekeeper in Social Studies," in J.P. Shaver, ed., *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning* (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

In this review, Thornton covers 24 studies, virtually all qualitative studies of a limited number of social studies teachers. The studies deal with the following topics: teacher beliefs about social studies subject matter, teacher beliefs about student thinking in social studies, teacher conceptions of planning responsibilities, practicality and socialization as goals of teacher planning, teacher planning and the textbook, and teachers' choices of instructional strategies.

Thornton concludes that teachers' conceptions of social studies are often quite different from those of social studies "experts." These conceptions influence curricular-instructional decision making. He also notes that teachers "tend to characterize their planning as concerning instruction, not curriculum." They view curriculum as "synonymous with a body of knowledge identified by 'experts' and encapsulated in a textbook." While teachers' decisions about instruction often result in text-based, teacher-centered teaching, Thornton suggests that there may be more variety in classroom practice than is typically believed.

Thornton reminds reformers and curriculum planners that the role of teacher gate-keeping and its interaction with educational policy must be considered if reforms are to be realized.

Wehlage, Gary G., Eric Osthoff, and Andrew C. Porter, "Support from External Agencies," in Fred Newmann and Associates, *Authentic Achievement: Restructuring Schools for Intellectual Quality* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996).

As part of the School Restructuring Study conducted by the University of Wisconsin-Madison's Center on Organization and Restructuring of Schools, these authors looked at to what extent and under what conditions external agencies helped schools develop intellectual quality and strong professional communities. In the 24 restructuring schools studied, three kinds of assistance were available from external agents: staff development, standard setting, and deregulation.

Wehlage and his associates found that an external agent alone could not transform a school into "one characterized by intellectual quality and professional community." However, schools already predisposed to these qualities responded positively to the assistance from external agents, leading the authors to conclude that "success in reform depended on positive aspects of culture and structure."

Wilson, Suzanne M., et al., "Learning by All," *Phi Delta Kappan* 77, no. 7 (March 1996), pp. 468-476.

Wilson and her associates conducted a longitudinal study of the "ways policy makers and practitioners think about curricular reform in elementary mathematics and literacy instruction in three states: California, Michigan, and South Carolina." The focus of their work was the learning required by actors at all levels of the educational system—legislators, school board members, parents, teacher educators, state department employees, principals, curriculum specialists, teachers, and students—in order for complex reforms to succeed. The article provides sketches of state department of education personnel, a teacher educator, and a teacher involved in reform-related learning. Based on differences observed, the researchers note the importance of community for learners and present four "hunches" about what facilitates learning:

- "...significant reform-related learning seems to occur most often when concrete classroom examples and experiences are used to ground an inquisitive, respectful, and discerning conversation about practice."
- "...much significant reform-related learning seems to depend on experimentation and ongoing reflection."
- "Important reform-related learning will occur if people come to the table from different parts of the education system..."
- "...those who meet to advance such learning-related reforms seem to do much better when they view themselves as learners....If they are confident that they can help nurture change, they accept that others at the table have much to teach them."

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